

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR MAY, 1836.

Art. 1.—1. *The Life and Character of John Howe, M.A.* With an Analysis of his Writings. By Henry Rogers. 8vo. pp. xiv, 576. Price 12s. London, 1836.

2. *The Works of the Rev. John Howe, M.A.* With Memoirs of his Life, by Edmund Calamy, D.D. Complete in one Volume. Roy. 8vo. pp. 1278. Price 2l. 2s. London, 1832.

‘THE lives of persons of worth and eminence, when drawn up with faithfulness and care, have been ever thought very ‘entertaining and improving,’—says the reverend and learned Dr. Calamy, in commencing his Memoirs of Howe; and no one will dispute the correctness of the very trite and obvious observation. Faithfulness and care are not, however, the only qualifications requisite in the biographer; and grateful as they may be for the scanty information which Dr. Calamy has transmitted to us, his readers must have sympathized in his modest lamentation, that he was ‘not better furnished with materials in his undertaking’; and have regretted, too, that the ‘defective and imperfect account’ has not been hitherto superseded by one that should do complete justice to the memory of the noblest theologian of modern times, as well as one of the most perfect exemplars of the sanctity and virtue which his writings inculcate. Dr. Calamy is not altogether to be blamed, however, for the scantiness of his materials. In his last moments, Howe exacted from his son, Dr. George Howe, a solemn promise, reluctantly given, but faithfully performed, to destroy, with his other papers, ‘a multitude of ‘small volumes,’ comprising ‘large memorials of the material ‘passages of his own life, and of the times wherein he lived,’ and which he had ‘most industriously concealed till his last illness.’ Had these manuscripts been preserved, we might have possessed, Mr. Rogers infers from the character of the writer, ‘a work as

‘delightfully minute as that of Baxter or Burnet, characterized by a freedom from prejudice which did not belong to the former of these celebrated writers, and a depth of reflection which could not be expected in the latter.’ But it is highly probable, that these memorials, though they would doubtless have supplied valuable materials, were too much in the form of rough private memoranda to be fit for the public eye; and supposing that they contained disclosures which it would have involved a breach of confidence to publish during his life, or details which would have implicated the interests of others, Howe would feel that he was bound in honour to prevent their posthumous publication. In his own hands, these memorials might have supplied the groundwork of one of the most valuable and instructive historical memoirs in our literature; but the actual diary would not, we may reasonably suspect, have come up to this character.

The destruction of these MSS. would leave unimpaired, however, the usual sources of biographical information. Of these, whether in the shape of unpublished documents or printed books, Mr. Rogers has diligently availed himself. His researches have been successful in bringing to light many unpublished letters of Howe, and one or two other documents, as well as a considerable number of facts not mentioned by Calamy. His main purpose, indeed, he states to have been, ‘to give a minute analysis of Howe’s character and writings;’—a character which, as reflected in his conduct and writings; must ever be, to the Christian minister more especially, ‘a study,’ worthy of profound contemplation.

‘None can peruse his *writings* without feeling that his mind was habitually filled with the contemplation of that peculiar but truly divine character, that comprehensive and all-pervading excellence, the ultimate development of which, in those who embrace Christianity, is the design of the mysteries it reveals, and of all the powerful motives by which it prompts to action. This *character* consists in the complete restoration of harmony between all the faculties of the soul; such a distribution and mutual subserviency of all the constituent principles of our nature, as shall secure the highest perfection of them all, and enable us uniformly and equably to sustain the various relations in which we stand to God, to ourselves, and to one another. This *character*, an approximation to which is all that can be expected on earth, can be fully matured only under the influences of a far other clime. Still it was the subject of Howe’s habitual and intense contemplation. Plato himself never kindled with a more intense rapture over his beautiful visions of ideal virtue, than Howe, with a mind enlarged and purified by the Gospel, dwelt on the lineaments of that image into which the Christian is gradually transformed, as he gazes, “by the Spirit of the Lord.”.....He was *really* one of the very few who, with a truly enlarged and sublime conception of that various excellence, that moral and spiritual beauty which the Gospel of Jesus

Christ is designed to form within us, devoted his whole powers and faculties, steadily and systematically, to the attainment of it.

‘If the reader who may be ignorant of Howe’s character and writings, think that I am dealing in indiscriminate and extravagant eulogy, I would simply ask him, in what terms *he* would speak of one of whom the following *facts* could be truly affirmed? Let it be supposed, for example, that it could be said of some individual, that throughout life he had friends in all parties, and enemies in none; that those who agreed in little else, concurred in loving and admiring him; that he conciliated the fullest esteem of those from whom he differed, without alienating the affection of those with whom he agreed; that he knew so well how to reconcile the claims of truth with the claims of charity, that he was firm without bigotry, and moderate without meanness; that in *his* hands even controversy wore an amiable spirit; and that while he never offended against conscience by concealing his sentiments, he never offended against love by expressing them; that this strange (singular?) union of zeal and discretion, integrity and prudence, wisdom and love, was maintained throughout a long and eventful life, in an age of bitter faction, amidst scenes of civil tumult, and in situations the most difficult and perplexing;—what, I ask, would the reader say of such an individual? Would he not say, that the panegyric which he had deemed extravagant, was no more than due to excellence so rare? An appeal to every record of the life of Howe, will shew that all this, and more than this, can be safely affirmed of him.’ pp. 7—9; 12—14.

This is admirably put; and the truth of the portrait is amply sustained by the evidence which this volume presents to the reader. Even that splenetic party writer, Anthony Wood, Mr. Rogers remarks, divests himself, when speaking of Howe, of his accustomed bitterness. Of the veneration with which he was regarded by his younger contemporaries, as he was drawing near the close of his majestic course, we have a proof in one of Watts’s lyrics, addressed to this ‘great man,’ which, while betraying some false taste, breathes a generous admiration honourable to both parties.

‘Howe hath an ample orb of soul,
Where shining worlds of knowledge roll,
Where love, the centre and the pole,
Completes the heaven at home.’

Howe was seventy-four, Isaac Watts thirty years of age, and had not long been settled in London as a preacher, when he composed this poetical tribute, which could not be mistaken for adulation; for in that year, 1704, Howe was visibly approaching the close of his toils; and he died in the following spring. Baxter died in 1691; Owen in 1683. Howe was the last of the intellectual race, of which he was the greatest ornament.

But we are anticipating the proper course of the narrative, of which we shall now proceed to trace the outline; interweaving with it some further specimens of the competent ability and sound judgement with which the present Biographer has executed his task.

John Howe (or How) was born at Loughborough, Leicestershire, May 17, 1630. His father was at the time minister of the parish, having been appointed to the cure by Archbishop Laud; but not long afterwards, he was 'thrust out by the same hand, 'on the account of his siding with the Puritans, contrary to the 'expectation of his promoter.' Such is Calamy's statement, who adds, that, to avoid the rigour at that time used in the ecclesiastical courts, by which many were driven to America, others to Holland, Mr. Howe sought refuge in Ireland, taking his son, then very young, along with him; to what part of Ireland is not mentioned. That country proved, however, no safe asylum. The 'execrable rebellion' which broke out, placed them in circumstances of great jeopardy, the town to which he had retired, being for several weeks together besieged and assaulted by the rebels, though without success. Driven back to England, Mr. Howe settled in Lancashire, where his son received his early education; but no particulars relating to the place, or to the name of his instructors, have been preserved. Young Howe had just completed his seventeenth year when he was admitted as a sizar into Christ's College, Cambridge. There he became acquainted with the celebrated Cudworth and the not less accomplished Henry More. With the latter, he formed a close and endeared friendship, which was maintained till the death of 'that 'great, though unequal and eccentric genius.' Milton had received his academical education at the same college three and twenty years before; having entered in Feb. 1624-5, and left Cambridge, after taking his degree of M.A., in 1631. To Howe's intimacy with Cudworth and More, Calamy attributes the 'Platonic tincture' which so remarkably runs through his writings; but he imbibed it more immediately, his present Biographer suggests, from the justly celebrated John Smith, of Queen's College, Cambridge, then at the height of his reputation, and between whom and Howe may be traced, in many points, a strong intellectual resemblance. He drew his theology, however, from a purer source; and, by studying the Divine oracles, attained to "more understanding than all his teachers." With the theological deficiencies characterizing the school of Smith and Cudworth, Scougal and Lucas, so accurately pointed out by Alexander Knox *, Howe is never chargeable. 'None can peruse his

* See Ecl. Rev. 3d Series, Vol. XII. pp. 378, 384.

'writings,' Mr. Rogers remarks, 'without seeing in almost every page, traces of his ardent admiration of Plato; and that it was the admiration of a kindred mind.' But it never led him to blend the speculations of philosophy with the Christian verities. He often turns to excellent account his erudite and accurate acquaintance with the ancient philosophers, especially with the works of 'the great Pagan theologian,' as he styles his favourite Plato. But adds his Biographer,—

'Not that such speculations at all depraved his views of Christianity. They have, it is true, *tinctured* his habits of thought and expression, but they have done nothing more. The system he expounds is Christianity—simple Christianity still. When he availed himself of ancient philosophy, (to use the beautiful language of Spademan in his funeral sermon,) "he took care to wash the vessel, that it might be receptive of Divine communications." Though quite at home in the profoundest speculations of theology, he seldom long loses sight of the elementary principles of the gospel. On these he best loves to expatiate, and to these perpetually returns. Even in those pieces which were intended more particularly for the initiated,—for those who had already crossed the threshold of the temple, he never fails to remind them of the terms on which they first sought and found admittance, and to inculcate, as the indispensable condition of all progress in the Divine life, an habitual recollection of the cardinal doctrines of the gospel.' pp. 479, 80.

Mr. Howe remained at Cambridge till he had taken his degree of B.A. in 1648. He then repaired to Oxford, where he took the same degree, Jan. 18, 1649, being not quite nineteen years of age. His extensive attainments and exemplary piety soon established his reputation in that University; and he was chosen fellow of Magdalen College. On July 9, 1652, when he had just entered his twenty-third year, he took the degree of M.A. At this early period of his life, Howe gave a striking proof, at once of his jealous regard for religious liberty, and of his superiority to the petty prejudices which disgraced the age.

'It appears that Dr. Thomas Goodwin, the President of the College of which Howe was a Fellow, had invited the scholars of his house to meet for Christian worship and fellowship. It excited no little astonishment, that Howe, whose reputation was already great, both for talent and piety, sought no admission into their society. After a time, the Doctor took an opportunity of expressing his surprise, that a person so universally esteemed in the college should not avail himself of such a means of spiritual improvement. Upon this, Howe frankly declared, "that the true and only reason of his conduct was, that he understood they laid considerable stress among them on some peculiarities which he loved not, though he could give others their liberty to take their own way, without censuring them, or having unkind

thoughts of them; but that, if they would admit him into their society upon *catholic* terms, he would readily become one of them." To this proposal Dr. Goodwin readily consented.' pp. 30, 31.

Very soon after taking his degree of M.A., Mr. Howe was ordained a presbyter by the Rev. Charles Herle, Prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly, 'at his church of Winwick, Lancashire,' the ministers of the subordinate chapelries of that extensive parish taking part in the ceremony. Winwick, like Sheffield, Halifax, and some other large parishes, included several of these chapelries, so that its incumbent became invested with a sort of diocesan authority. Such were, no doubt, the primitive dioceses; and Mr. Howe used to speak of himself as having been 'devoted to the sacred office by a primitive bishop and his 'officiating presbytery.' How he came to be ordained at Winwick, is not explained: he does not seem to have held any cure there. It was, perhaps, the place, or in the neighbourhood of the place, where his father had taken up his residence after escaping from Ireland. Howe's first settlement as a pastor was over a congregation at Great Torrington in Devonshire, to which charge he was invited on the removal of the former minister, Mr. Stukely, to Exeter, in 1650. With this place, he seems always to have connected associations of the most delightful kind. Here some of the happiest years of his life were spent; and here he preached those discourses, the substance of which was afterwards embodied in two of his most valuable treatises,—“On Delighting in God,” and “On the Blessedness of the Righteous.” In March, 1654, he married the daughter of his learned and eminent friend and neighbour, the Rev. George Hughes, of Plymouth. The circumstance which led to his removal from this retired sphere of quiet usefulness to a situation of peculiar responsibility and delicacy, we shall let his Biographer explain.

‘At the close of 1656, or in the beginning of 1657, some important business brought Howe to London. On the last sabbath of his stay there, (and it is worthy of remark that he had been already detained beyond the period he had assigned for his return,) curiosity led him to the Chapel at Whitehall. The name of the preacher who attracted him thither is unknown. Cromwell was present; and as “he generally had his eyes every where,” (to use an expression of Calamy's, not very complimentary to Oliver's devotion,) the noble and expressive physiognomy of Howe soon fell under his notice. Nor was this to be wondered at; an observer of human nature, far less sagacious than Oliver Cromwell, might have discerned, in the lineaments of Howe's face, the indications of no common character.

‘As soon as service was concluded, a messenger was despatched, to inform Howe that the Protector desired to speak with him. If surprised at such an extraordinary summons, he must have been still

more surprised to hear the Protector (who had already concluded from his appearance that he was a minister) request him to preach at Whitehall Chapel on the following Lord's day. Howe, whose modesty recoiled from a proposal which other and more ambitious men would have exulted to embrace, endeavoured to excuse himself. Cromwell, with that peremptoriness which ever characterized him, told him, "that it was in vain to think of excusing himself, for that he would take no denial." Howe, who did not know much of the arts of a courtier, and if he had, would have disdained to practise them, pleaded with much simplicity, that "he had despatched all the matters which had brought him to London, that he was now anxious to return home, and that he could not be detained longer without serious inconvenience." "Why," rejoined the pertinacious Oliver, "what great injury are you likely to sustain by tarrying a little longer?" To this Howe, who, in the spirit of a true pastor, considered the welfare of his flock far more important than the favour of the Protector, their esteem as his highest honour, and their love as his most grateful reward; replied, "that his people were very kind to him; that they would be uneasy at his protracted absence; that they would think he neglected them, and that he had but little valued their esteem and affection." "Well," said Cromwell, "I will write to them myself, and will undertake the task of procuring them a suitable substitute." This he actually did; and Howe, being thus relieved from his scruples, or rather not knowing how to persist in opposing the wishes of one whose requests, like those of kings, were little less than commands, consented to the Protector's proposal. But after he had preached once, Cromwell in the same manner insisted upon a second and third sermon, and prevailed by the same pertinacity as before; and at length, after much private conversation, told him, that nothing would serve him but Howe must remove to London and become his domestic Chaplain, and that he would take care that the people at Torrington should be supplied to their satisfaction." Howe exerted himself to the utmost to escape such an unwelcome honour; but Cromwell, who, as Calamy truly observes, "could not bear to be contradicted after he had once got the power into his hands," would listen to no denial. At length, therefore, Howe (who, as appears from a hitherto unpublished letter, which will shortly be laid before the reader, was assured that he would have the means of doing great service to religion in the Protector's household, the whole arrangements of which were to be submitted to him and a reverend colleague) was induced to consent. He accordingly removed with his family to Whitehall, where several of his children were born.

'We might have concluded, *a priori*, that if Howe had been at liberty to shape his own destiny, such a situation would not have been precisely the one he would have selected; but the curious correspondence which will shortly be laid before the reader proves it. Indeed, such a post, even under far more inviting circumstances, would never have been his *choice*; for though he had practical talents, which eminently fitted him for important public functions, all the strongest tendencies of his nature were in favour of contemplative retirement and humble usefulness. Such a situation, however, as that in which he

now found himself, must for special reasons have been peculiarly distasteful. The fanaticism which so strongly pervaded Oliver's court and household, must, as his conduct and his letters both testify, have been to the last degree repulsive to a mind so remarkably free from every tinge of enthusiasm, and so habitually under the dominion of the severest reason. Even the extravagances and eccentricities of *manner*, which marked so many of the religionists in the court of the Protector, must have excited strong disgust in one whose judgement was too sound and healthy not to dislike oddities of all kinds, but religious oddities above all others; these last being not only offensive to taste, but injurious to piety. Little knowledge of human nature is requisite to convince us, that the severe sense of propriety, the dignity, the almost majesty of manner, which all who knew Howe have concurred in attributing to him, must have been grievously offended at some of the scenes enacted in Oliver's household, or even in the Chapel at Whitehall.

‘But this is not all. The office to which he was thus reluctantly promoted must, for other and still more important reasons, have soon become, as his letters show, intolerably irksome, because it must have been eminently difficult to discharge it at once with that discretion which was requisite to secure his own safety, and with that integrity which alone would satisfy his conscience. If Howe had been a blind and unscrupulous partisan, who was prepared to concur with obsequious acquiescence in all that his patron and his patron's adherents might approve, and to purchase a character of devoted loyalty to one party, by a hatred and abuse of every other, his course, however degrading, would have been comparatively plain. But so far from this, there is incontrovertible historic evidence, which will be immediately laid before the reader, that he never concealed his opinion, however hostile to that of his best friends; that when he did not agree with Cromwell himself, he did not scruple to say so, and (if he thought the occasion of sufficient importance to warrant it,) to say so even in public; and, lastly, that he never missed an opportunity of using his influence with the Protector and his government, in behalf of those who were opposed to both. That he did all this, is well known; but that he should have been able to do it, without compromising principle or incurring censure, without giving irretrievable offence by his honesty, or exciting suspicions by his moderation, argues a very extraordinary union of integrity and discretion. His success, however, seems to have been complete: not the faintest whisper of calumny has been breathed against him by *any* party.’ pp. 43—48.

Mr. Rogers's strictures on Cromwell's probable motives in retaining Howe as his chaplain, his examination of the Protector's religious principles, and his observations upon the causes of the strange fecundity of sects and schisms at that era, are replete with good sense and sound discrimination. We are not sure that we quite agree with him in his severe estimate of Cromwell's character; but we must resist the temptation to deviate into discussions not strictly relevant to our present subject. The letters which passed

at this time between Baxter and Howe, now first printed, will be read with deep interest. Howe soon felt uneasy in the family of his Highness, on the ground of the want of regularity, or what he terms 'affected disorderliness as to the matters of God's worship,' and his very limited opportunities of usefulness in his capacity of domestic chaplain. 'It were as hopeful a course,' he says in one letter, 'to preach in a market, or in any assembly met by chance, as here.' As this remark can scarcely refer to the public services on the Lord's Day, it would seem to denote, that Howe had, perhaps unreasonably, expected to have frequent opportunities of preaching to the Protector's court, or of conducting lengthened devotional services in the household; and that he found himself obstructed in his plans, not by direct opposition, but by the want of regularity or 'the temper of the place.' It is, however, Mr. Rogers justly remarks, 'a conclusive proof of the propriety of manners which must have pervaded Cromwell's court, that such men as Howe could stay there.' That he did not retire from his important post, appears to have been greatly owing to the advice of the venerable friend whom he consulted on this case of conscience. Of the fearless integrity with which he discharged his duty, (though he complains of his natural pusillanimity and fear of giving offence,) exemplary proof was given in his openly opposing, in a sermon 'on a particular faith in prayer,' a very prevalent and favourite notion entertained by the Protector himself, at the risk of incurring his severe displeasure. Cromwell, though observably 'cooler in his carriage to him than before,' felt that he could not resent conduct which ought to have commanded his respect. We must make room for the following just reflections upon Howe's distaste for a situation which so many would have envied him.

'It is evident that, to preach the Gospel, and to train the immortal spirits of men for heaven, were, in his estimation, unspeakably the most honourable and delightful of all employments. In comparison with his office as minister to the humble flock at Torrington, his chaplaincy at Whitehall—offering as it would, to any ambitious man of equal talents, such tempting opportunities of promoting selfish interests—possessed no attractions. Nor, if we would do him full justice, must we forget that, in those days, and in such a court as Cromwell's, the situation which Howe held, was not such as that of a chaplain (quiet, easy soul!) ordinarily is. In that age of religious enthusiasm, and in that peculiar position of public affairs, almost all questions of state were strangely complicated with those of religion. How many a fanatic, unconscious that his ruling motive was ambition, and how many a hypocrite, who knew it but too well, would have exulted to obtain Howe's place in Oliver's confidence, his intimate knowledge of state intrigues, and his share in secret and important negotiations. He would have known how to turn to his own selfish advantage, that power which was never employed by Howe, except for the benefit of

others, and which he would, at any time, have been heartily glad to relinquish.' pp. 115, 16.

A very interesting letter, addressed by Howe to Baxter after the death of 'the old Protector,' places the conduct of Richard Cromwell in a highly honourable light, and shews that the only choice left to the nation lay between the restored monarchy and a military oligarchy under the name of a republic. 'Sir,' says Howe, 'such persons as are now at the head of affairs, will blast religion, if God prevent not.' This was written after Richard's abdication; and no doubt, the fears it expresses, paved the way for the Restoration, by which religion was more effectually blasted, for a time, than it was likely to have been by any such chimerical attempt to introduce infidelity or popery as was the subject of Howe's apprehension. But one of the most dark and distressing features of the times was, the general distrust which mutually prevailed among all parties. After all, it is extremely difficult to decide, whether religion itself was in more danger from the fanaticism of the army party, or religious and civil liberty from the theocratic policy of the Presbyterian party. In the commencement of the contest between the Parliament and the army, the former were decidedly in the wrong.

We have now to view the Protector's Chaplain as the ejected Nonconformist, the victim of that 'master-piece of combined bigotry and folly,' the Act of Uniformity, by which, in common with hundreds of the most learned and pious ministers of the Church, he was reduced to beggary.

'For several years, Howe continued to lead the life of a fugitive and wanderer; staying now with one friend, now with another; literally "preaching from house to house," and procuring a precarious and slender subsistence by performing any service, however humble, of which he was capable. His bitter recollections of this period of his life, seem to have suggested that brief but vivid description which he gave, of the condition of the ejected ministers, in a document published nearly forty years after. "Many of them," said he, "live upon charity; some of them with difficulty getting, and others (educated to modesty) with greater difficulty begging their bread."'

p. 160.

From Howe's catholicity of temper and latitude of opinion on non-essential points, some of his friends were led to expect that he would have found no great difficulty in complying with the terms of conformity. But, as he told Dr. Wilkins, (afterwards Bishop of Chester,) 'that latitude of his, so far from inducing him to conformity, was the very thing that made and kept him a Nonconformist.'

Mr. Rogers's remarks upon this head are so judicious and forcible, that we must make room for a somewhat extended extract.

‘ It is very singular, that the ejected ministers have been blamed for their conduct on this occasion by the members of a church, two of whose most eminent divines, (Jeremy Taylor, in his “*Ductor Dubitantium*,” and Barrow, in his beautiful Latin poem, entitled *Conscientia erronea obligat*,) have laid down with such force and clearness the great principle,—that “conscience, even when erroneous, obliges.” For what, then, are the ejected ministers blamed, if their objections were really what they represented them to be,—truly conscientious?

‘ If it be replied, it is not because the men *were* conscientious, but because, out of a factious spirit, they *pretended* to be so, when they were not, that is another thing. Under such circumstances, it is only left us to admire the penetration of their accusers, who, it seems, are turned “discerners of spirits,” and to wonder at the pertinacious folly of the accused, who could embrace poverty, degradation, and ruin, for no advantage whatever! Even if we imagine some few to have been idiots enough to act thus; to suppose that the great bulk of the ejected ministers were not impelled by a sense of duty which, even to preserve their dearest interests, they dared not disregard, is to suppose a total subversion of all the principles of action which ordinarily regulate human conduct, on a scale never exhibited before or since.

‘ Some, probably, would be willing to admit, that if the ejected ministers *really* had conscientious objections to the oaths and subscriptions required of them, they could not with honour conform; but at the same time might profess pity and contempt for understandings which could be fettered by prejudices so weak, and scruples so frivolous. Compassion for the imbecility of such men as Howe and Baxter, would at all events be a novel exhibition of the sentiment, and entitle him who professed to feel it, to be compassionated in his turn, for his ignorance and presumption. This, however, leads to a brief consideration of the point, which, as already stated, was only conceded for the sake of argument. Surely, it may justly be argued, matters to which *such* men objected,—men possessing minds so enlarged, and knowledge so ample,—could not be so utterly indifferent as they have been often represented. I have already said, that if they *had* been in themselves indifferent, it would little matter, as far as the question of *conscience* and *duty* is concerned; what I further insist on is, that, considering the character of the men, it is eminently improbable that they should have been so.

‘ When it is urged, that the ejected ministers were needlessly scrupulous about things “indifferent or insignificant,” it is often forgotten that the oaths, subscriptions, and unfeigned assent and consent demanded of them extended to a great variety of matters, which differed by every conceivable degree of importance. Some of them, it is true, were “indifferent” enough, and the scruples they excited may perhaps surprise us: but others involved considerations of such magnitude, that they might well exercise the most enlarged understanding, and perplex the most enlightened conscience. There were not only cobwebs to catch insects, but nets, in the meshes of which even the noblest animals might struggle in vain.

‘ This led, as already stated, and as might be expected, to a cor-

responding difference in the grounds on which the ejected ministers justified their nonconformity. The sufficiency or insufficiency of those grounds could not be determined merely by the *fact* of nonconformity; since the "Act of Uniformity" (resembling the divine law in one point at least) made "him who was guilty in *one* point guilty in *all*." A separate examination of the reasons alleged by the several parties can alone decide this question; and to represent the men *in general* as needlessly and frivolously scrupulous, because some were so, is grossly unfair.

'What, then, were the points required by the "Act of Uniformity?" It required "unfeigned assent and consent" to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the Book of Common Prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church of England; together with the Psalter, and the form or manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons, to all which was appended, corresponding subscriptions. It required the oath of canonical obedience and subjection to their ordinary, according to the canons of the church; it required them to take the oaths of abjuration and supremacy; it also required that they should be re-ordained, if never episcopally ordained before.

'Whether it was *reasonable* to demand compliance with all these requisitions, far be it from me to pretend to decide; but that many of them respected no "insignificant" or "trifling" matters, can hardly be denied.

'But even supposing an individual to have no *specific* objections to any of the above requisitions; supposing he merely took his ground on the score of some matters of ceremonial, which he himself acknowledged to be in their own nature "*indifferent*;" still it does not follow that he might not justify his nonconformity on grounds which, whether really sound or unsound, cannot at all events be deemed frivolous. For example, he might contend, that it was not the *things themselves*, but the *general* principle involved in compliance, and the consequences necessarily flowing from the admission of that principle, which in his opinion justified opposition.

'If any believed, for instance, (as many did,) that rites and ceremonies, which are of purely human origin, and for which, by the confession of all parties, there is no inevitable necessity, ought not to be introduced into public worship, or, that things which are in their own nature "*indifferent*," should be left to every man's judgement and conscience,—to them it was not a matter of "*indifference*" whether they proceeded to sanction a principle which would serve to justify the most extensive innovations in matters of ceremonial, on the ground that they were "*indifferent*," or were left undetermined by Scripture. It is very possible that many things may be confessedly "*indifferent*" in their own nature, which can no longer be considered so, the moment it is demanded that we should *act* as though they were not. In this case, it is not the value of the concession that determines the controversy, but the *principle* involved in it.

'Once more: even if the ejected ministers had conceded all the matters to which they objected, in the Common Prayer, to be in

themselves "indifferent," yet, as public functionaries, they might not think it "indifferent," whether they had the power of accommodating themselves to the scruples of those among their audience who had not arrived at the same latitude of opinion, or were to restrict the benefit of their labours to those only who on such matters thought with themselves. For example, a minister might think very "indifferent," whether he used the sign of the cross in baptism or not; but he might *not* think it indifferent whether he was to exclude those from that rite altogether, who had conscientious objections to the accompanying ceremonial.' pp. 140—146.

One of the points upon which Howe, in common with the admirable Philip Henry, and other eminent Nonconformists, felt insuperable scruples, was the required re-ordination. 'Pray, Sir,' inquired Dr. Seth Ward, then Bishop of Exeter, 'what *hurt* is there in being twice ordained?' '*Hurt*, my Lord?' rejoined Howe: 'it *hurts* my understanding; the thought is shocking; it is an absurdity, since nothing can have two beginnings. I am sure I am a minister of Christ, and am ready to debate that matter with your Lordship, if your Lordship pleases; but I cannot begin again to be a minister.' In this interview, the Bishop assured him, with strong expressions of regard, that, if he would conform, he might have considerable preferment. Howe preferred a clean conscience and an unstained consistency.

Mr. Rogers supposes that it was under the pressure of exigency that Howe published, in 1668, his *Treatise, "The Blessedness of the Righteous"*; which seems to have met with the success it deserved, and might probably lead to his being invited, in the following year, to become domestic chaplain to Viscount Massarene, of Antrim Castle, Ireland. He had now been ejected six years, during which he had subsisted on an income miserably scanty and precarious. Poverty brought with it the deeper solicitude, as it found him with a young and numerous family. Under these circumstances, he did not hesitate gratefully to embrace the flattering and advantageous offer; and he embarked for Dublin early in 1671. Between thirty and forty years had elapsed since his excellent father had, with his infant son, sought an asylum, in the same country, from ecclesiastical tyranny; and it must have been with peculiar emotions that Howe again set his foot upon the Irish soil. But he revisited it under more favourable auspices; and the years which he passed at Antrim were some of the happiest of his life.

'Under the protection of a powerful patron, and in the enjoyment of a competent income, he quietly pursued his two most cherished employments; the ministry of the gospel, and the study of divinity. It was here that he composed and published his sermon entitled, "*The Vanity of Man as mortal*," and his beautiful little treatise on

"Delighting in God." It was here also that he prepared for the press, the first part of his greatest work, "*The Living Temple*." The deep solitude and the romantic beauty of the scenes in which he now dwelt, well harmonized with the tendencies of a mind so contemplative and so fond of abstraction. To the opportunities of prolonged and solitary meditation which such scenes afforded, we are, perhaps, in some degree, indebted for the sustained sublimity, the noble sentiments, and the subtle trains of abstract reasoning, with which the works he produced at this period of his life abound.

'It is not a little singular, that not many years before, in the same part of Ireland, and under circumstances very similar, was produced the larger part of another of the many great works which adorn the theology of our country. I allude to the "*Ductor Dubitantium*" of Jeremy Taylor. When the Episcopal party was under a cloud like that which now overshadowed the "ejected ministers," Taylor found, in the patronage of the Earl of Conway, the protection which Howe now enjoyed in that of Lord Massarene; and amidst the magnificent and romantic scenery which encircled the seat of his noble patron, composed the greatest part of his stupendous work on casuistry. The work which Howe produced at Antrim Castle, though on a subject totally different, deserves at least an equal celebrity. Both works indicate intellect of the highest order, though of character as different as the subjects on which they treat.

'Nothing can more strongly evince the rare conjunction of excellence that must have met in Howe—his catholic temper, his consummate prudence, his unaffected modesty, his insinuating manners—than the fact, (totally unprecedented,) that the Bishop of the diocese, in concurrence with the wishes of his Metropolitan, permitted him, without any demands of conformity, to preach at Antrim church every sabbath. The Archbishop is even reported to have publicly told his clergy, that he would wish every pulpit in his province to be open to the distinguished Nonconformist.' pp. 175, 6.

Howe remained in Lord Massarene's family about five years. In 1675, he was invited to London, to take charge of the congregation recently under the pastoral care of Dr. Seaman; which, after mature and anxious deliberation, he accepted. The Royal "Declaration of Indulgence" had thrown an equivocal protection over the Nonconformists; and such was the regard which Howe's talents, learning, and extraordinary worth conciliated, that his nonconformity did not prevent his being on the most intimate terms with many who already were, or subsequently became, some of the most distinguished ornaments of the Establishment; among others, with Stillingfleet, Tillotson, Sharp, Whichcot, Kidder, and Lucas. Shortly after his removal to the metropolis, he published the first part of his largest and most celebrated work, "*The Living Temple*;" and in 1675, his little treatise, prepared at the request of the Hon. Robert Boyle, entitled, "*The Reconcilableness of God's Prescience of the Sins of Men*

with the Wisdom and Sincerity of his Counsels and Exhortations, and whatever other means he uses to prevent them." This last tract, which, though hastily composed, is yet one of the most eloquent as well as profound of his productions, drew down upon him the animadversions of no fewer than three writers; namely, the learned Author of "The Court of the Gentiles," to whom he replied in a Postscript to the Treatise, and two ejected ministers named Troughton and Danson, (the latter a fellow collegiate and *quondam* friend of Howe's at Oxford,) to whom he gave no reply. But the blundering misconceptions or disingenuous aspersions of Danson met with an effective chastisement from a champion who voluntarily stood forward in the Author's defence, and whose 'tremendous powers of sarcasm' were never employed but in the cause of truth and virtue. This was no other than the truly illustrious Andrew Marvell. The reader will feel indebted to Mr. Rogers for the amusing extracts which he has given from this able and rare tract. Howe never entered the arena of controversy without reluctance; but in 1780, Dean Stillingfleet's bitter tirade against the Nonconformists, in the shape of a sermon on 'the Mischief of Separation,' led him to undertake the defence of the cause of the Nonconformists against the Dean, subjoining 'something in defence of the Dean' against the severe reflections which his despicable conduct had drawn forth. We agree with Mr. Rogers, that nothing can be more beautiful as a model of fair and gentlemanly controversy, nothing more amiable and characteristic of the writer, than Howe's apology for the conduct of the Dean; yet, without detracting from the merit of his conciliatory temper as manifested on this occasion, it must be recollected, that Howe entertained a personal regard for Stillingfleet. If 'the spirit of others' who replied to him was 'very different,' they wrote under other circumstances. But no such imputation of an improper spirit as is here insinuated, can fairly be brought against the Dean's leading antagonists. Vincent Alsop's "*Melius Inquirendum*, or the Mischief of Impositions," is as unexceptionable in point of temper, as it is spirited and vivacious. "The Rector of Sutton committed with the Dean of St. Paul's, or a Defence of Dr. Stillingfleet's Irenicum against his late Sermon"—was the title of another polemical *jeu d'esprit*, which galled the Dean, as well it might, by its adroit exposure of his tergiversation, but cannot be charged with a bad spirit. Baxter, indeed, did not treat the Dean with much courtesy; but Owen received his thanks for the 'civility' which he observed towards him in his "Vindication." Stillingfleet was rewarded with the object of his ambition,—a mitre.

Restricted in his public labours by the revival of the persecuting statutes against Nonconformity, Howe now diligently employed his retired hours in preparing several of his smaller pub-

lications for the press. Of these, Mr. Rogers has taken a particular review, which our contracting limits compel us to pass over. Two letters are given entire, which Howe transmitted, without his name, to the individuals addressed: as anonymous letters, they are, we apprehend, without a parallel. The first, addressed to Lady Russell on the judicial murder of her truly noble husband, is one of the most masterly epistolary compositions in any language. It was scarcely possible that the Writer should not be detected; and Lady Russell replied in a letter of thanks, in which she told him, that 'he must not expect to be 'concealed.' This led to further correspondence, and to an intimacy with the noble family, which continued till his death. We cannot suppress Mr. Rogers's beautiful reflections upon this incident in Howe's life.

'The illustrious lady to whom it was addressed, was an utter stranger to Howe, or was known to him, only as she was known to all the rest of the world,—by the fame of her unutterable sorrows. Yet the deep sympathies which the gospel inspired, induced him not only to address an elaborate and most affecting letter of consolation to her, but to make specific mention of her in his private devotions. He assures her, that he "seldom bowed his knees before the mercy-seat without remembering her there."

'It is delightful to reflect that this is not a solitary instance, though a most touching and impressive one, of the expansive spirit of Christian benevolence. We can tell, indeed, how often that spirit prompts supplications in secret on behalf of those who little know the compassion their sorrows have inspired, and are personally strangers to the individuals who so benevolently plead for them? Nay, more; who can tell how often not only individuals, but whole communities, have been benefitted by the "effectual and fervent," though secret and silent prayer of those who are in Scripture called "the salt of the earth and the light of the world?"

'Is it fanciful to suppose, that in heaven, (where the methods of the Divine Providence, and the complicated system of means and instruments it has adopted, will, there is every reason to believe, be explained to us,) one source of delight to many, will be the grateful discovery that on earth they have had unknown friends; friends who have interceded for them in secret; friends who, in these, the highest exercises of charity, as well as in those of a more ordinary benevolence, have not suffered their "left hand to know" what "their right hand did?"' pp. 309, 10.

The other anonymous epistle, not less admirable in its spirit, was addressed to Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, who had published an intemperate charge, urging the necessity of enforcing the laws against the Nonconformists: it is as fine a piece of calm, respectful, argumentative expostulation, as the former letter is of exquisitely delicate consolation. The Writer tells the Bishop, that 'he long thought few had been, in the temper of their

'minds, nearer to the Philadelphian state of the church, than his 'Lordship'; and that he was grieved, not to have so judged, but at finding himself mistaken, and to see him 'the first public example to the rest of his order in such a course.' The letter then proceeds:—

"Blessed Lord! how strange is it that so long experience will not let us see, that little and so very disputable matters can never be the terms of union so much to be desired in the Christian church; and that, in such a case as ours is, nothing will satisfy but the destruction of them, whose union upon so nice terms we cannot obtain; and then to call *solitudinem, pacem!* But we must, it seems, understand all this rigour your Lordship shows, to proceed from love, and that you are for destroying the Dissenters, only to mend their understandings, and because *afflictio dat intellectum*. I hope, indeed, God will sanctify the affliction which you give and procure them, to blessed purposes; and, perhaps, *perissent nisi perissent*: but for the purposes your Lordship seems to aim at, I wonder what you can expect. Can you, by undoing men, change the judgment of their consciences? or if they should tell you, "We do, indeed, in our consciences judge, we shall greatly offend God by complying with your injunctions; but yet, to save being undone, we will do it;" will this qualify them for your communion? If your Lordship think still you have judged and advised well in this matter, you have the judgment of our sovereign, upon twelve years' experience, lying against you: you have, as to one of the laws you would have executed, the judgment of both Houses of Parliament against you, who passed a bill (to which, perhaps, you consented) for taking it away. You have (as to all of them) the judgment of the last House of Commons sitting at Westminster, so far as to the season then, of executing those laws. It may be your Lordship thinks it now a fitter season; but if you have misjudged, or misdones against your judgment, I pray God to rectify your error by gentler methods, and by less affliction, than you have designed to your brethren; and do not, for all this, doubt (any more for your part than my own) to meet you there one day, where Luther and Zuinglius are well agreed." pp. 318, 19.

In 1685, the persecution of the Dissenters had reached its height; and under the gloomy prospects of the country, Howe gladly embraced the invitation of Philip, Lord Wharton, to accompany him in a tour on the Continent. After having spent a year in visiting some of the most celebrated cities of Europe, he fixed his residence at Utrecht, where he took a large house for the reception of English exiles. Among his other inmates were the Earl and Countess of Sutherland, several English gentlemen, and his nephews, George and John Hughes. In turn with several of his brethren who had also taken refuge there from persecution, he regularly preached at the English church; and he gave his assistance, by private instruction, to the English students at the University. While in Holland, Howe was honoured

with several interviews with William, Prince of Orange, who was soon afterwards called to occupy the throne of England. The Prince discoursed with him, Calamy says, 'with great freedom, and ever after maintained a great respect for him.' In 1687, James II., suddenly changing his policy, issued his 'Declaration for liberty of conscience.' 'Howe's congregation, who were most anxious that he should resume his labours amongst them, wrote to remind him that he had promised to do so as soon as circumstances would permit him. With their request he immediately complied.' He returned at a critical moment, when the court were tampering and intriguing with the Nonconformists: and to Howe's prudence and firmness, combined with his influence over his brethren, may be attributed in a great degree the disinterested and patriotic conduct of the Dissenting ministers, which baffled the insidious policy of the Popish king. In the following year, Howe had the happiness of delivering, at the head of a deputation of the Nonconformist ministers, an address of congratulation to King William and Queen Mary on their accession to the throne.

'Relieved from the fear of persecution,' says Mr. Rogers, 'the Nonconformists began to quarrel among themselves.' The chapter which relates to the part taken by Howe in the unhappy dissensions of the London ministers, which, though not actually caused, were exasperated into an open rupture by the reprinting of Tobias Crisp's works,—has satisfied us less than any portion of the volume. It would be easy to shew, that the sentence above transcribed does not convey a correct representation of the fact, since the quarrels among the Nonconformists not only had a much earlier beginning, but had not even been suspended by a sense of common danger and common suffering. Controversy was the epidemic vice of the age; and earnest contention for the faith was the misunderstood duty to which were sacrificed the weightier matters of the law of charity and kindness. We differ entirely from the Writer as to the futility of the publication of the "Heads of Agreement." It is evident from the documents and facts brought together in Mr. Joshua Wilson's "Historical Inquiry," that not merely a formal coalition, but a cordial union between the Presbyterian and Congregational denominations, on the basis of that Declaration, took place very generally throughout the kingdom; and that this was not disturbed by the unseemly and rancorous personal disputes which subsequently broke out among the metropolitan ministers, and which are supposed to have been fostered by Jacobite intrigue. But into the history of these transactions we cannot now enter; and must content ourselves with recommending to Mr. Rogers the careful revision of this part of his narrative against a new edition.

In 1702, Howe published the Second Part of his great Work,

"The Living Temple." His mind had lost none of its vigour, although he was in a very shattered state of health; and towards the close of 1704, it became evident that he would not long survive. Feeble as he was, he did not entirely relinquish his public duties till a very short time before his death; and in the spring of 1705, he sent to the press the last thing he ever published,—a sermon on 'Patience in expectation of future Blessedness,' in which his own serene and heavenly state of mind is most happily reflected. He continued to receive the visits of his friends after he was confined to his chamber; and among others, Richard Cromwell, now, like himself, far advanced in years, came to take an affectionate farewell of his old friend and servant.

'The interview, if we may judge either from the character of the parties, or the brief account which Calamy has given of it, must have been peculiarly affecting. He tells us: "There was a great deal of serious discourse between them; tears were freely shed on both sides; and the parting was very solemn, as I have been informed by one that was present on the occasion."' p. 448.

At length, on the 2d April, 1705, this saintly man breathed his last, expiring without a struggle. His remains were interred in the parish church of All-hallows, Bread-street. His funeral sermon was preached on the ensuing Lord's day, by his beloved friend and coadjutor, the Rev. John Spademan. Mr. Howe was twice married; but of the date of his second marriage, or of his previous bereavement, we have no information. His widow died at Bath in Feb. 1743, being near ninety, and having survived him almost eight and thirty years. By his first wife he had four sons and a daughter, of whom, and their descendants, a few particulars are given in the appendix. Dr. George Howe, the eldest son, practised in London as a physician, with considerable reputation. James, the second, was a barrister, who appears to have acquired considerable property by his professional exertions; and his eldest son and heir married the Hon. Caroline Howe, daughter of Rt. Hon. Scroop, Lord Viscount Howe. Of the third son, John, nothing is known beyond the fact that he left two sons. The fourth is supposed to have died young.

We had intended, on commencing this article, to offer some observations upon Howe's style and characteristic excellencies as a writer; but to do any justice to the subject would require a larger space than we can now devote to it. Mr. Rogers, in his concluding chapter, has given an Analysis of his principal works, marked by his usual ability, and forming, so far as it goes, a valuable introduction to the perusal and study of Howe's writings. We have only to regret the necessity under which he found himself, of contracting his remarks within too narrow limits, and of striking out much that he had prepared for this section of his

work. We should be glad to see this Analysis, in a new edition, extended and carefully revised, even if room were made for it by compressing some of the previous portions of the Memoir. The posthumous Works of Howe are more deserving of studious perusal, and bear more intrinsic marks of substantial genuineness, than Mr. Rogers is disposed to admit. His estimate of Howe's merits and defects as a writer, is substantially just; we cannot but avow our opinion, however, or feeling, that he has exaggerated his defects of taste, 'the poverty of his diction and ruggedness of his style.' We cannot subscribe to the criticism, though attributed to a high authority, the late Robert Hall, who valued Howe above all other divines,—that he betrayed as a writer 'an innate inaptitude for discerning minute graces and proprieties,' 'Broken metaphors and trivial allusions' may be found in Howe's writings; but they are by no means a characteristic feature; nor can we hold him responsible for the absurd punctuation by which his printed works are disfigured, and the sense often obscured. Mr. Rogers is anxious, by these large and, as it appears to us, excessive admissions, to forewarn the modern reader of the defects which might otherwise lead him to turn away from these invaluable writings with disgust. Even so forewarned, he remarks, the reader must expect to relish them only after repeated perusal.

'He must learn to look at what is sublime and beautiful in *thought itself*, abstracted from the forms of elegance and beauty in which he has often seen them embodied. Many have been so little accustomed to this effort of mind, have been so long habituated to look on the metal only after it has passed through the refining fires of the furnace, that they cannot admire the veins of precious ore which enrich the pages of our Author. And even those who *do* peruse his writings, are liable, for want of such an attempt to rectify their judgment, to underrate most grossly his intellectual greatness. They understand him, it is true; but half the grandeur and beauty of his conceptions is lost upon them.' pp. 471, 2.

That it requires a more sedulous and patient effort of attention to understand and relish the writings of Howe, and most of the writers of his age, than ordinary readers now-a-days are disposed to make, we freely admit. A want of perspicuity and a want of finish are very prevailing defects in those masculine thinkers. But if readers who delight in the casuistry of Baxter, and luxuriate in the uncouth prolixity of Owen, are repelled by the style of Howe, we must think that it is the pitch of his thoughts, the originality of his manner of thinking, the elevated cast of his mind, rather than any infelicities of phraseology, which constitute the true source of the difficulty that is complained of in following him. But we may be suspected of partiality in this judgement; nor will we deny that for Howe's writings we have im-

bibed, by constant perusal, a strong partiality; such as the late Mr. Hall avowed, when, in conversation with the Author of this volume, he said, that 'he had derived more benefit, as a minister, from the Works of Howe, than from those of all other divines put together.' To our conceptions, Howe stands apart from all his contemporaries, invested with the same peculiarity of moral grandeur and loveliness, as the Beloved Disciple among the Apostles, whom in spirit he so closely resembled; while in his writings, there is more of heaven, a brighter apocalypse of the future blessedness, than in any other uninspired compositions.

Of the beautifully printed edition of his Works from the Bungalow press, in a form so convenient to the theological student, we need only say, that, though the punctuation is still very defective, it is the best, as well as the cheapest, that has hitherto been given to the public; and that Mr. Childs has deserved the cordial thanks of the religious world by the service he has rendered in undertaking it.

Art. II.—*Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan, and on the Site of Ancient Nineveh; with Journal of a Voyage down the Tigris to Bagdad, and an Account of a Visit to Shirauz and Persepolis.* By the late Claudius James Rich, Esq., the Hon. E. I. Company's Resident at Bagdad. Edited by his Widow. In two Volumes, 8vo., pp. xxxiv, 808, Maps and Plates. Price 30s. London, 1836.

THESE volumes, which contain a description of districts rarely visited by Europeans, and better known to history than to geography, are all that exist of a work begun by Mr. Rich on a very extensive scale. Had he lived to execute the picture of which this Journal is the Sketch, it would have been one of the most complete and valuable geographical memoirs that we possess, as relating both to the country and its inhabitants; and the Author's intimate acquaintance with the language and manners of the people, would have enabled them to throw in much general information of a novel and amusing character. As it is, the papers now published 'record chiefly those particulars which he noted down at once, lest they should escape his memory, and the whole value of which depended upon their accuracy.' These particulars, however, are not only highly valuable as data illustrating the obscure topography of the region described, but, being given in a pleasing style, furnish a very entertaining narrative. The public will receive with interest this literary bequest of an eminent and accomplished man, who honourably sustained, in his official capacity, the English name among barbarous Asiatics, and to whom Oriental literature is indebted for a magnificent collection of MSS., coins, and antiquities, which, by Parliamentary purchase, now form part of our national treasures.

A brief notice of the Life of Mr. Rich, furnished by an anonymous friend, is prefixed to the Narrative; and our readers will probably be pleased to learn a few particulars respecting the Author, before we proceed to give an account of the contents of this posthumous work.

Claudius James Rich was born March 28, 1787, near Dijon, in Burgundy. While yet an infant, he was carried to Bristol, where he spent the first years of his life under the eye of his parents. At an early age, he discovered an extraordinary capacity; and his peculiar talent for mastering the difficulties of foreign language began very soon to develop itself. Into the elements of Latin and Greek, he was initiated by a relative; and while passing through the usual course of instruction, his ardour in these studies led him to acquire several modern languages, without a teacher, by the aid only of books. The sight of some Arabic Manuscripts in a private library at Bristol, when he was only eight or nine years of age, is believed to have first wakened the strong passion for Oriental learning which had so powerful an influence on the whole current of his future life. With the help of a grammar and dictionary, and of some manuscripts lent him by Mr. Fox, of Bristol, he not only learned to read and write Arabic, but to speak it with considerable fluency; and by the time he had attained his fifteenth year, his unwearied application had enabled him to make considerable progress in Hebrew, Syriac, Persian, and Turkish.

‘About this time, as he was taking an evening’s walk on Kingsdown, near Bristol, he happened to meet a Turk, and, being desirous of ascertaining whether his pronunciation of the Turkish were sufficiently correct to be understood by a native, he addressed him in that language. The Turk, after expressing his pleasure and surprise at being so unexpectedly accosted in his own tongue, informed him that he was a merchant, but was then in distress, having been recently shipwrecked on the coast of Ireland. Besides the satisfaction arising from his successful experiment, Mr. Rich had the still higher gratification of contributing to the stranger’s relief.’

The turn which his studies had taken, led his friends, as well as himself, to look to India as the fittest sphere for the exertion of his talents; and in 1803, he was appointed, through the interest of a friend, to a cadetcy in the Company’s military service. A letter from the late Rev. Robert Hall to his friend Sir James Mackintosh, recommending the young cadet to his favourable notice, is alike characteristic of the distinguished writer, and honourable as a testimony to the impression which Mr. Rich had at that early period made on those who knew him, by his acquirements and engaging manners.

“ “ Shefford, near Cambridge, Dec. 30, 1803.

“ May I take the liberty, before I close, of recommending to your attention a young gentleman of the name of Rich, who is going out in the same fleet as you, as a cadet, to Bombay. He is of Bristol, where I had the pleasure lately of seeing him. He is a most extraordinary young man. With little or no assistance, he has made himself acquainted with many languages, particularly with the languages of the East. Besides Latin, Greek, and many of the modern languages, he has made himself master of the Hebrew, Chaldee, Persian, Arabic, and is not without some knowledge of the Chinese, which he began to decipher when he was but fourteen. He is now seventeen. He has long had a most vehement desire to go to India, with the hope of being able to indulge his passion for eastern literature; and after many difficulties, he has at length succeeded in being appointed to the situation of cadet. He is a young man of good family, and of most engaging person and address. His name, I believe I mentioned before, is Rich. If it is consistent with your views to honour him with your countenance, he will not, I am almost certain, give you any reason to repent of your kindness and condescension.”

This young man ultimately became the son-in-law of the distinguished jurist to whom he was thus kindly recommended. He did not, however, go out with Sir James as cadet. His acquirements having attracted the notice of Mr. (now Sir Charles) Wilkins, during his attendance at the East India House, he was appointed to a writership on the Bombay establishment, which changed his destination from the military to the civil branch of the service; and in order to enable him to perfect his knowledge of the Arabic and Turkish languages, he was attached as secretary to Mr. Lock, then proceeding to Egypt as Consul-general. Early in 1804, Mr. Rich embarked in the Hindostan store-ship, to join Mr. Lock in the Mediterranean. That vessel took fire in the Bay of Rosas; and he escaped with the crew to the coast of Catalonia, whence he travelled into Italy, and spent some time in that country, in order to make himself master of its language. Mr. Lock died at Malta, before he had entered on his mission; and Mr. Rich, being allowed by the Court of Directors to prosecute his travels in the manner most conducive to his main object, proceeded from Malta to Constantinople and Smyrna.

‘ While sailing up the Archipelago, a suspicious-looking vessel was one day observed bearing towards that in which he was a passenger. It was believed to be a pirate, and every thing was made ready for a desperate defence. On her nearer approach, however, she was discovered to be a Turkish merchantman, when Mr. Rich and several others went aboard. He had not been long on the deck, when one of the Turks who was richly dressed, eyed him so steadfastly for some time as to excite his particular attention. At length the Turk ad-

dressed him, saying, "Sir, I know you." "And I," replied Mr. Rich, "have seen you before." An explanation followed. It was the man whom he had assisted when in distress in Bristol.

After residing for some time at Smyrna and Alexandria, Mr. Rich left Egypt in 1807, and, in the disguise of a Mamlook, made his way over-land through Palestine, Syria, and Diarbekir to the Persian Gulf, whence he embarked for Bombay. At Damascus, confiding in his knowledge of the Turkish language and manners, he ventured to enter the grand mosque with the great body of pilgrims assembled there; an act which would have cost him his life, had he been detected to be a Christian. His host, 'an honest Turk,' captivated with his address, intreated him to settle in that city, 'offering him his interest and his daughter in marriage.' Mr. Rich arrived at Bombay in Sept. 1807, where his letters of introduction procured him a hospitable invitation from Sir James Mackintosh, then Recorder of that Presidency; and he had not been long domesticated in the family, before a mutual attachment was formed between him and Miss Mackintosh, the result of which Sir James thus announces in a letter to his friend Hall:—'Rich, whom you recommended to me, 'is become my son-in-law; and he is indeed a son-in-law to 'whom the fondest parent may gladly entrust his child.' Shortly after his arrival at Bombay, the urgent necessities of the public called for a Resident at Bagdad; and Mr. Rich, though not yet twenty-four, was acknowledged to be the fittest person to occupy the station. Early in 1808, he set out for his Residency; and he spent about six years at Bagdad, with no European society but that of his wife and Mr. Hine, the surgeon to the Residency. It was during these years, that he commenced his valuable collection of Oriental MSS. and antiquities; and in his Memoirs on the Ruins of Babylon, he gave to the public the fruits of his observations and researches in an excursion to that interesting site. The state of his health compelled him, at the end of 1813, to leave the Residency for change of climate. He repaired with Mrs. Rich to Constantinople; thence travelled, by way of Vienna to Paris, and crossing the Alps to Trieste, returned to the Levant, and reached Bagdad by the over-land route from the Ottoman capital. Resuming his former pursuits, he remained between five and six years more at the Residency. The Tour into Koordistan, described in these volumes, he undertook in 1820 for the benefit of his health. He was about to proceed to Bombay, where he had been appointed to an important office, when a violent and unprovoked attack was made upon the Residency by the orders, or with the connivance, of the Pasha. This, Mr. Rich succeeded in repelling by force of arms; and then moved down to Bussora, until due reparation was offered.

While there awaiting instructions from Government, he resolved upon making an excursion to Shirauz and Persepolis. At Shirauz, the cholera morbus was raging with such violence that six thousand inhabitants, out of a population of 40,000, were carried off in a few days. The prince-governor, with his court and all the chief people, fled the city. Mr. Rich

refused to quit the place, and continued nobly to exert himself to quiet the alarm of the inhabitants, and to assist the sick and dying. His time for many days was chiefly employed in visiting them, and administering the necessary medicines. The tribute of gratitude and respect which he received from the multitudes whom he assisted, was most gratifying to his heart. But the disease was already working in his own veins. On leaving the bath on the 4th of October, symptoms of cholera appeared; and, in spite of every assistance and care, he expired on the following morning. He was interred in the Jehan-Numa, one of the royal gardens, in which he lived at the time, where a monument has since been erected to his memory.

Thus suddenly, in the prime of life,—he was only in his thirty-fifth year,—was this accomplished and amiable man arrested in his honourable career, at the moment that advancement was opening before him. The Writer of the anonymous notice thus laconically, but emphatically, sums up his character.

‘His affections were warm and active. He was the most steady and sincere of friends. He was the fondest of husbands. His sense of religion was deep-rooted. His force of character enabled him to sway and guide those among whom he was placed. Never did the British character attain so high a degree of eminence in Turkish Arabia as when he presided at Bagdad.’

Mr. Rich left behind him a considerable number of manuscripts. The contents of these volumes are, first, his *Journal of a Residence in Koordistan*, with an Appendix of Documents illustrative of the topography, history, and dialects of the country; secondly, the *Continuation of his Journal*, describing his journey from Sulimania to Mousul, his examination of the Ruins of Nineveh, his voyage down the Tigris to Bagdad, and his final departure from that city for Bussora. Three Letters carry on the narrative of his travels in Persia up to the day before his fatal seizure. A second Appendix comprises Notes on the Battle of Arbela, and a variety of routes and other details illustrating the geography of the basin of the Tigris. There is given, in the Appendix to the first volume, a Fragment of a Journal kept by Mrs. Rich, from Bagdad to Sulimania: the reader will wish she had carried it on during the whole journey, as it supplies many interesting particulars, of which we shall avail ourselves in giving a brief abstract.

As Mr. Rich deemed it proper to travel in his official capacity, Mrs. Rich was obliged, in conformity to Oriental etiquette, to perform the journey in a covered litter (*takht-revan*), attended by women servants and all the state of a haram, and to keep, during each day's march, at a respectful distance from her husband's retinue. This consisted of several officers and servants of the Residency, and a body-guard of twenty-five sepoys: forming a strong party of between fifty and sixty, composed of Christians, Jews, Turks, Armenians, Persians, and Indians. On the 17th of April, their journey properly commenced from a garden-house in the vicinity of Bagdad. After being much impeded by unusual torrents of rain, which converted the flat country into mud and water, and in some places rendered it necessary to deviate from the proper road, the party reached on the 24th the Hamreen hills. This is a long, low range of sand-stone formation; its northern face composed of sand and pebbles, which appears to be the first step of the ascent from the burning plains of Irak Arabi. The next day, they reached Kifri, where Mr. Rich was surprised to find a small community of Jews, who have a synagogue. Near this town, an ancient site is indicated by extensive vestiges of buildings and sepulchral mounds and excavations, which the inhabitants attribute to the Ghiaours or infidels. Gold and silver coins are frequently found here, which the villagers immediately melt down. Mr. Rich was not able to obtain any of them, to ascertain the age or dynasty to which they belong; but the sepulchral jars or urns dug out of a lofty mound, perfectly resemble those found at Seleucia and Babylon, and point to the Sossanian times. The ruins extend about a mile in length. At Eski Kifri (Old Kifri), two hours s.w. of the present town, are other ancient vestiges. An immense artificial mount forms a conspicuous object, resembling the *Mujelibe* in the plain of Babylon: it is about fifty-seven feet in height, and an imperfect square of about 960 feet. A small vault has been discovered in it, formed of coarse bricks, and containing many sepulchral urns. On the centre of the mound is a small burial-place of Arabs; and 'the Mussulman now confounds his dust with that of the 'fire-worshipping Persian.' Similar mounds are found in all other directions; and it is evident from the thickly scattered ruins, that a numerous population once occupied this now desolate country.

On leaving Kifri, the children of the village, Mrs. Rich says, followed, 'smothering us with roses.' The route descended from the Kifri hills into a large and finely cultivated plain occupied by a Turcoman tribe; and, passing other ruins and ancient vestiges, led to Toozkhoormattee, a large village situated near the pass by which the Ak-soo, coming down from the Koordish moun-

tains, finds its way into the plain *. Near this village, the inhabitants of which are chiefly Turkish, of the equivocal sect of Ismailians, are valuable naphtha-pits, which yield a considerable revenue to the proprietor. To the west of the town are some mounds of rubbish, and one remarkable ruin.

‘ On a little square platform of a building is one pier of it standing, of coarse masonry, apparently not very ancient. Further north are six piers standing, forming part of an oblong building, whose direction is east and west ; and it appears to have been composed of a body and two aisles or verandahs. The door is west ; and another corresponding recess or opening on the east, has been supported on each side by a semi-circular pilaster or buttress. The whole has been vaulted : the masonry is extremely rude. I should conjecture this to have been a church : it greatly resembles the ruins of Chaldean and Syrian churches I have seen. The mounds are scattered about to a great extent, and prove this to have been, at some former period, a considerable place.’ Vol. I., pp. 31, 2.

Near Taook, the next stage, are found some other ruins, which are noticed by Olivier, but unaccountably transferred by him to Toozkhoormattee. They are of the Mohammedan era, consisting of an old minaret of beautiful brick-work, and a small gateway in the taste of the finest remains of the Khalifate of Bagdad. The ruins of a church were pointed out, at the distance of about two miles from the road ; but Mr. Rich did not visit it. Dakoka, which is represented by the miserable village of Taook, was an episcopal see of the Chaldeans ; and its bishops are mentioned at a very early period.

Crossing another range of hills, of sand-stone and gravel, the route led into the beautiful plain of Leilan, which now exhibited an expanse of green, such as ‘ the poor Bagdadees ’ of the party had never before beheld. We must insert Mrs. Rich’s animated description of the scene.

‘ May 3. We set off at about half-past five, and had one of the pleasantest day’s journeys I have known for a long time, over green hills and through fertile valleys, the pretty mountain stream of the Leilan meeting us every now and then : its pure waters gurgled over its pebbly bed ; its banks were bedecked with trees and flowers of all descriptions, and enlivened by the sweet notes of hundreds of birds, among which the lark and the thrush, those well-known sweet voices of another and a better land, affected me very powerfully. Added to all this, the freshness of the air, the novelty of the lovely scene, and the amazement of our people, altogether assured us we really had reached another region, and were quitting the dreary, parched-up,

* This stream, and the other waters from this range, are received by the Adhaym, which falls into the Tigris below Bagdad.

melancholy plains of Bagdad, where the very sight of extensive green is unwelcome to the traveller, as it can only be produced by the overflowings of the river Tigris, or the canals which intersect the country, and is consequently marshy, wet, and unwholesome.

'For the first hour of our stage, we proceeded up the banks of the pretty Leilan, covered with mulberry, pomegranate, a kind of dwarf poplar, willow, and other trees; besides that, in many places, the ground looked dyed with the quantities of roses that perfumed the air. A tent for us was pitched on a little elevation above my favourite river, which winding and meandering over its pebbly bed, through little bosquets of fig-trees, mulberry-trees, and rose-bushes, together with the gentle green swelling bank on the opposite side, the extremely fresh appearance of every thing around us, altogether made me very *pathetic*, as Claude called it, while he tried, though very unsuccessfully, to conceal how very, very much he sympathized with me. But, from our very long privation of such a prospect, it appeared like enchantment, and affected us more than the many celebrated spots we had visited in either England, Switzerland, or Italy. We rambled about the valley and through the beautiful grove, gathering roses and wild-flowers, till suddenly we came to a *wild rose bush*, for which everything else was abandoned, and we almost worshipped the solitary exile, as it seemed, from England.' Vol. I., pp. 355, 6.

It was only now that they could be said to have fairly quitted the dreary *Ghermaseer* (hot country), the name given to the tract between the Tigris and Mount Zagros; and Mr. Rich seemed, he says, 'to inhale a new existence.' From the summits of the hills which bound the valley of the Leilan water on the North, the streams run down to Koordistan; and the traveller passes from the district of Kara Hassan, which is dependent upon the Pasha of Bagdad, into the Koordish government of Sulimania. A bare, steep, and narrow ridge, extending from N.W. to S.E., here affords, by three passes, a road from the plains of Assyria into Koordistan. The *derbent i Bazian*, or Bazian pass, forms a common entrance or outlet to several valleys, separated by low hills, which occupy the district enclosed by the lofty ridge of the Bazian and Karadagh mountains on the west, and on the east, by the Azmir and Goodroon range. The valley of Sulimania is the second of these, extending southward to the foot of the snow-clad mountains of Avroman, which divide it on the east from the territory of Sinna (or Sinendrij), in Persian Koordistan. These are a part of Mount Zagros or Shahoo, of which the high range of the Kandeel-dagh, comprising the Rewandiz *, Akko, Sikeneh,

* The people of Rewandiz were reported to be to the last degree savage and stupid. Recent advices from Persia state, that the present Shah was about to undertake an expedition into Koordistan, to chastise these intractable mountaineers, through whose territory lies a

and Saook-Bouluk mountains, is a prolongation. These mountains form the natural frontier between Turkey and Persia. The actual boundary is frequently a small stream.

Pir Omar Goodroon, the name given to the snowy summit of the bare rocky range extending from Keuy-Sanjak on the N. to Seghirmeh S.E., is a very conspicuous object on approaching Sulimania. It is said to contain a glacier, which supplies all Koordistan with ice, the store of which is inexhaustible, and never melts. A fine view of the range was obtained from the summit of a circular mound above 100 feet high, which gives its name to the district of Tchemtchemal. Artificial mounds of this description are found, apparently at regular intervals, throughout this line of country. Mr. Rich supposes them to have been royal stations marking the progress of an army; 'perhaps that of Xerxes, or of Darius Hystaspes.' 'Perhaps from hence,' writes Mrs. Rich, speaking of Tchemtchemal, 'some of the more ancient Persian kings, Cyrus or Xerxes, may have surveyed their armies in the plain below; while at the moment I am writing, a company of Indians, in the English uniform, with drums and fifes, are parading on the very same spot, and marching to a Scotch tune!'

Sulimania, into which Mr. Rich made his public entry May 10, is a miserable-looking town, composed chiefly of mud hovels, which give it the appearance of a large Arab village, but containing among the public buildings a handsome mosque and a very fine bath. The town is not quite fifty years old, and received its name from its founder, in honour of Suliman Pasha, then governor of Bagdad. An ancient mound occupied the site. The former capital of the territory was Karatcholan on the other side of the Azmir hills. Sulimania contained at the time of Mr. Rich's visit, 2000 houses of Moslem; 130 of Jews, nine of Chaldean Christians, who have a wretched small church, and five of Armenians, who have neither priest nor church. There are five mosques, six khans, and five public baths. The Koordish inhabitants are chiefly of the peasant caste, who are described to be of a totally different race from the clansmen or military Koords. 'The Turks call us all Koords,' said Mahommed Aga to Mr. Rich, 'and have no conception of the distinction between us; but we are quite a distinct people from the peasants, and they have the stupidity which the Turks are pleased to attribute

caravan route. Rewandiz is a castle belonging to an independent Bey, very strongly seated on a lofty mountain, (part of Mount Zagros,) cut down on one side by the Zab, and on the other side approachable only by narrow defiles. A few years ago, Abbas Mirza sent an army to reduce this fort, which was obliged to retreat with the loss of its artillery.

melancholy plains of Bagdad, where the very sight of extensive green is unwelcome to the traveller, as it can only be produced by the overflowings of the river Tigris, or the canals which intersect the country, and is consequently marshy, wet, and unwholesome.

'For the first hour of our stage, we proceeded up the banks of the pretty Leilan, covered with mulberry, pomegranate, a kind of dwarf poplar, willow, and other trees; besides that, in many places, the ground looked dyed with the quantities of roses that perfumed the air. A tent for us was pitched on a little elevation above my favourite river, which winding and meandering over its pebbly bed, through little bosquets of fig-trees, mulberry-trees, and rose-bushes, together with the gentle green swelling bank on the opposite side, the extremely fresh appearance of every thing around us, altogether made me very *pathetic*, as Claude called it, while he tried, though very unsuccessfully, to conceal how very, very much he sympathized with me. But, from our very long privation of such a prospect, it appeared like enchantment, and affected us more than the many celebrated spots we had visited in either England, Switzerland, or Italy. We rambled about the valley and through the beautiful grove, gathering roses and wild-flowers, till suddenly we came to a *wild rose bush*, for which everything else was abandoned, and we almost worshipped the solitary exile, as it seemed, from England.' Vol. I., pp. 355, 6.

It was only now that they could be said to have fairly quitted the dreary *Ghermaseer* (hot country), the name given to the tract between the Tigris and Mount Zagros; and Mr. Rich seemed, he says, 'to inhale a new existence.' From the summits of the hills which bound the valley of the Leilan water on the North, the streams run down to Koordistan; and the traveller passes from the district of Kara Hassan, which is dependent upon the Pasha of Bagdad, into the Koordish government of Sulimania. A bare, steep, and narrow ridge, extending from N.W. to S.E., here affords, by three passes, a road from the plains of Assyria into Koordistan. The *derbent i Bazian*, or Bazian pass, forms a common entrance or outlet to several valleys, separated by low hills, which occupy the district enclosed by the lofty ridge of the Bazian and Karadagh mountains on the west, and on the east, by the Azmir and Goodroon range. The valley of Sulimania is the second of these, extending southward to the foot of the snow-clad mountains of Avroman, which divide it on the east from the territory of Sinna (or Sinendrij), in Persian Koordistan. These are a part of Mount Zagros or Shahoo, of which the high range of the Kandeel-dagh, comprising the Rewandiz *, Akko, Sikeneh,

* The people of Rewandiz were reported to be to the last degree savage and stupid. Recent advices from Persia state, that the present Shah was about to undertake an expedition into Koordistan, to chastise these intractable mountaineers, through whose territory lies a

and Saook-Bouluk mountains, is a prolongation. These mountains form the natural frontier between Turkey and Persia. The actual boundary is frequently a small stream.

Pir Omar Goodroon, the name given to the snowy summit of the bare rocky range extending from Keuy-Sanjak on the N. to Seghirmeh S.E., is a very conspicuous object on approaching Sulimania. It is said to contain a glacier, which supplies all Koordistan with ice, the store of which is inexhaustible, and never melts. A fine view of the range was obtained from the summit of a circular mound above 100 feet high, which gives its name to the district of Tchemtchemal. Artificial mounds of this description are found, apparently at regular intervals, throughout this line of country. Mr. Rich supposes them to have been royal stations marking the progress of an army; 'perhaps that of Xerxes, or of Darius Hystaspes.' 'Perhaps from hence,' writes Mrs. Rich, speaking of Tchemtchemal, 'some of the more ancient Persian kings, Cyrus or Xerxes, may have surveyed their armies in the plain below; while at the moment I am writing, a company of Indians, in the English uniform, with drums and fifes, are parading on the very same spot, and marching to a Scotch tune!'

Sulimania, into which Mr. Rich made his public entry May 10, is a miserable-looking town, composed chiefly of mud hovels, which give it the appearance of a large Arab village, but containing among the public buildings a handsome mosque and a very fine bath. The town is not quite fifty years old, and received its name from its founder, in honour of Suliman Pasha, then governor of Bagdad. An ancient mound occupied the site. The former capital of the territory was Karatcholan on the other side of the Azmir hills. Sulimania contained at the time of Mr. Rich's visit, 2000 houses of Moslem, 130 of Jews, nine of Chaldean Christians, who have a wretched small church, and five of Armenians, who have neither priest nor church. There are five mosques, six khans, and five public baths. The Koordish inhabitants are chiefly of the peasant caste, who are described to be of a totally different race from the clansmen or military Koords. 'The Turks call us all Koords,' said Mahommed Aga to Mr. Rich, 'and have no conception of the distinction between us; but we are quite a distinct people from the peasants, and they have the stupidity which the Turks are pleased to attribute

caravan route. Rewandiz is a castle belonging to an independent Bey, very strongly seated on a lofty mountain, (part of Mount Zagros,) cut down on one side by the Zab, and on the other side approachable only by narrow defiles. A few years ago, Abbas Mirza sent an army to reduce this fort, which was obliged to retreat with the loss of its artillery.

'to us.' As stupid as a Koord, is a common saying, it seems, among the Turks. The treatment which the peasantry receive, Mr. Rich remarks, is well adapted to *brutify* them; their condition is most wretched; and their Koordish masters, untaught by the oppression to which they are themselves subject from the higher powers, Turkish or Persian, cannot be brought to feel either shame or compunction for their cruelty to their poor dependents. It may be doubted, however, whether the lowland Koords deserve the contemptuous estimate which their highland lords affect to entertain of their natural capacity. The difference of physiognomy between the two races, Mr. Rich says, is perfectly distinguishable. The peasant Koord has a much softer and more regular countenance, with features sometimes 'quite Grecian.' 'The clansman is hard-featured, with a thick, prominent forehead, abrupt lines, and eyes sunk in his head, which are usually fixed in a kind of stare. Light grey, and even blue, is a common colour for the eyes.' One would not infer from this description intellectual superiority. The clansman may easily be known too, Mr. Rich adds, by a firm step and open, determined manner. 'At the first glance you can tell that they are the lords of the country.' The clannish Koords bear no proportion to the peasant race in numbers, the latter being as four or even five to one. The clans are of two sorts; those who are settled in particular districts, of whom there are supposed to be about 3000 families in the government of Sulimania, and the wandering or encamping clans, who amount to about 10,000 families, consisting, on an average, of seven persons to a tent. Among the latter is the tribe or clan of Zend, rendered famous by the elevation of Kerim Khan, its chief, to the throne of Persia, about the middle of the last century. The Zend gave way to the Kajar tribe in the reigning dynasty*. One of the most powerful Koordish clans is that of the Jafs, of whom there are twelve branches; and under their protection are fragments of all the tribes of Loristan and Persian Koordistan. They live in tents, encamping during summer on the high mountains which form the frontier of the territory of Sinna, and descending, in winter, to the banks of the Diala. They are a fine-looking people, but are esteemed exceedingly uncivilized and barbarous, even by the other Koords. It is evident, indeed, that quite as marked a distinction subsists between the different clans, as between the clansmen and the peasant Koords, who form the settled population. The dwellers in tents and the dwellers in walls, have in all parts of the East, from time immemorial, been at variance; and the distinction between the Arab Bedoween and the Arab *fellah*, exactly answers to that which subsists in Koor-

* The Kajar tribe is Turkish or Turkman, not Koordish.

distan between the *Sipah* or soldiers, and the *Gooran* or peasants. The townsman boasts of his city: the tribesman of his genealogy, for, having no fixed locality, his clan is his country. The attachment of the Koords to their chiefs is very strong.

‘In Bagdad, they live with their masters in the most miserable exile, struggling, without a murmur, with every sort of privation and suffering. Gentlemen who, in their own country, have a horse handsomely caparisoned, and a servant, are seen in Bagdad in rags; and are frequently known to work as porters or water-carriers, that they may take their day’s wages to their masters, to contribute to his support. When the brother of Abdurrahman Pasha died in Bagdad, one of his Koords was standing on the terrace or flat roof of the house, at the moment his master expired. “What!” said he; “is the *Bey* dead? Then I will not live another moment!” And immediately he threw himself off the top of the house, and was dashed to pieces. I have often heard this anecdote related in Bagdad. Yet, an exile in Bagdad is what the Koords most dread, and even their attachment is not always proof against its terrors. Poverty and privation they can endure without a murmur, but the burning wastes of Arabia are to them, they say, truly dreadful. The other day, when Koord Suliman Pasha very foolishly allowed himself to be inveigled into Bagdad once more, after having repeatedly had proofs of the falsehood and treachery of the Pasha, some of his Beyzadehs, or gentlemen of the first rank, came to him, and told him, that they were ready to undergo any thing for his sake but the horrors of a long protracted Bagdad exile, and that they desired leave to depart and seek their fortunes with the other princes of the same family in Koordistan. When their masters are in power, they distribute the best part of the lands among these their faithful followers, and, besides, make them continual presents of horses and arms. Khaled Pasha told me, that when he was deposed from the government of Keuy Sanjiak, his gentlemen came to him with their silver-mounted trappings and silver horse-furniture, which they laid down before him, telling him that he was now going into exile at Bagdad, where they would follow him, but where they would have no need of such finery; and that they therefore requested he would use the silver to provide himself with funds.’ Vol. I., pp. 87, 88.

Further on, we find the following curious and interesting particulars of some of the principal Koordish clans.

‘Among the reigning families in Koordistan, that of Bahdinan, whose capital is Amadia, (called by the natives Ekbadan,) is the noblest, and is even looked upon as something saintly, deriving its origin from the caliphs; but, from the ancient name of the family, it dates possibly from a much more remote antiquity. No person dares use the same vessel or pipe as is used by the prince of this family; not even his own pipe-bearer for the purpose of lighting or trying it for his master. His person is so sacred, that, in the fiercest battle among tribes, their arms would fall from their hands if he approached them. Yet, he has little or no power over the savage and warlike clans which

compose his people ; and he receives nothing from the revenues of his own estates. Should he want a sum of money for any extraordinary exigency, he mounts his mule and goes round to the chiefs of the different clans, becoming a *musaffer*, or guest, for a night with each of them ; when, by the laws of hospitality they cannot refuse his request ; and in the morning when he departs, the chief with whom he has passed the night, makes up a small sum as a voluntary offering to him.

‘ He affects the state of the latter Abasside caliphs. He always sits alone. A servant brings in his dinner, and then leaves him till he has finished it. After having eaten enough, he smooths the dish over, that no one may see what part he has eaten. He then calls a single attendant, who removes the dinner, brings him the basin and ewer to wash, supplies him with a pipe, and then leaves him alone again. The Pasha is very well dressed, something in the fashion of Mousul, with a Cashmere shawl on his head, wound round a red cap which hangs down behind, and is called a *fess*. When he holds a divan, first the *Kiahya*, or prime minister, enters and salutes the Pasha with an inclination of the body in the Persian manner, seating himself at a respectful distance. The chief of the Meroori tribe next follows, and takes his seat by the side of the *Kiahya* ; then the other resident chiefs of clans, in the order of the rank of their clans. Pipes are then brought at the command of the Pasha. Only one servant is allowed to enter, who distributes the pipes ; and when the Pasha wishes the divan to break up, he orders coffee. The *Kahvajee*, or coffee-maker, looks through the window, sees how many are present, fills as many cups with coffee, and arranges them on a tray which he brings in and hands in succession ; after which they all go away, except it please the Pasha to order any particular person, with whom he may have business, to stop. It seems the grandeur of the Bahdinan prince, to render himself as inaccessible and invisible as possible. The Bebbeh chief, on the contrary, is expected to make himself as public as he can ; and he has, indeed, seldom an hour to himself.

‘ Some of the Bahdinan princes, the father of the present one for instance, have even covered their heads with a veil whenever they rode out, that no profane eye might see their countenance ; and this, we learn from Benjamin of Tudela, was the practice of the later Caliphs of Bagdad. The uniform of the Pasha's own officers and servants, is a black jacket, made of abba stuff, manufactured at Mousul, with gold frogs. All wear the many-coloured striped trowsers which are the supreme bon ton in Amadia and Julamerk.

‘ The Pasha when he goes a-hunting, changes his dress at a hunting-box of his, near Amadia, for one of a mountaineer of lower rank, in which he clambers the cliffs, and lies in wait for the wild goat, observing never to shoot one younger than four years. Their age is easily recognized by the practised eye, even at a distance, by their horns. This, and snaring, shooting, or hawking the red-legged partridge, is the only sport in the territory of Amadia, which is too mountainous to admit of exercise on horseback.

‘ The air of Amadia is hot and unwholesome in the summer ; at which period all the inhabitants retire to their *yaylak*, or summer quarters,

about two hours and a half from the town, in an elevated situation, where there is snow all the summer. Here the Pasha has a country house, and the people make *tchardaks*. A strong guard is obliged to be kept, for fear of incursions from the Tiyari, an independent Christian tribe of the Chaldean nation, who are much dreaded by all the Mahometans.

Besides that of Bahdinan, there are other ancient and once powerful families, who have ruled over different portions of Koordistan. The family of Boattan, which commands the district of the same name, is a respectable family, but greatly reduced in consideration and influence. Their capital is Jezira, which is said to be now in a very ruinous condition. The district of Tor is between Jezira and Mardin, but independent of both. The Soran family was very ancient, and once the most powerful of all the families of Koordistan, the whole of which country it possessed. Its capital was Harcer, where many of their monuments may still be seen, of a very superior style of architecture to any other in Koordistan of any age. This family is become extinct, and out of its ruins rose the Bebbeh family, with several others, who had been feudal chiefs under the Sorans. Of this number is the family of Keuy Sanjiak, which was a banner of the Sorans. It has since been expelled from Keuy Sanjiak, which is now governed by the Bebbehs. The Bebbehs were feudal chiefs of Pizhden, under the Sorans, and their capital at that time was Darishmana, but which is now a miserable village of about eighteen houses. The Bebbeh family was formerly much more formidable than it is now, especially after the accession of old Suliman Pasha to the government of Bagdad, when the most part of the country, as far as Zengabad, Mendeli, and Bedran Jessan, was subjected to the chief of the Bebbehs; Altoon Kiupri, and Arbil, being likewise under his authority; and even Sinna, a province of Koordistan, which is generally under the dominion of Persia. Vol. I., pp. 153—7.

Sinna or Sinendrij, which gives its name to that part of Persian Koordistan under the government of the Vali, (a tributary Khan or prince *,) is a town containing between four and five thousand families, in the district of Hassanabad. Mr. Rich describes it as having an imposing appearance from its castellated palace on a height commanding the town; and the Vali's gardens are magnificent. A very handsome mosque, the improvements in the palace, some baths and caravanserais, and a new bazaar, attested the taste and the tyranny of Aman-ullah Khan; but 'the unfor-

* There were formerly four *Valis* tributary to Persia; viz. those of Haweiza, Loristan, Sinna, and Georgia; but the Vali of Sinna is the only one remaining. His proper title, it seems, is Vali of Sinna-Ardelan. The latter name, Mr. Rich was told, is not, however, a territorial denomination, but derived from a celebrated personage of the family. We question this, and suspect it to be the original name of the territory.

'tunate citizen and peasant groan when his buildings are mentioned.' The ordinary habitations, like those of Sulimania, are of mud. Among the inhabitants are about 200 families of Jews, and fifty of Chaldean Catholics, who have a church and a priest, and are all tradesmen or small merchants. Carpets of a superior quality to those of Kermanshah are made here. The Moham-medans are of the Soonee or orthodox sect; but the Vali and his family affect to be of the Sheeah or Persian creed. The territory of the Vali comprises the seven *boluks* or provinces of Juanroo, Avroman, Merivan, Banna, Sakis, Hassanabad, and Isfendabad. Cruel and avaricious even beyond the generality of Persian governors, a perfect master of Persian politeness and duplicity, splendid and selfish, a general monopolizer within his dominions, this Koordish chieftain exhibited the genuine features of an eastern despot,—a terror to his own subjects, and despised by all others. His family is ancient, having, it was stated to Mr. Rich, been princes of Sinna for nearly 700 years; but, being of the Gooran or peasant caste, it was not held in any estimation by the clansmen.

'If Aman-ullah Khan were deposed, not a single man would follow him, except some menials whom he could afford to pay. But if Mahmood Pasha of Sulimania were deposed, all his relations would instantly leave their country and follow him, giving him up whatever they possessed in ready money and effects, and would even work at daily labour to bring their pittance to contribute to his support and comfort. Nothing can be more marked than the difference of spirit in the clansmen and the Goorans, who are a timid and heartless race, and said to be meaner, more thievish, and more deceitful even than the Persians.' Vol. I. p. 215.

The Vali has many nomadic Koords, however, under his jurisdiction; and the Jafs were formerly all subjects of the Sinna prince, inhabiting the mountainous district of Juanroo.

Mr. Rich reached Sinna at a time of general mourning and distress, arising from the following circumstances, which will recall to our readers events in sacred history strikingly parallel.

'The Vali's eldest son, Mahommed Hussein Khan, whose mother was a woman of low rank, the daughter of a seraff or banker in the town, was in consequence excluded from the succession, in favour of his second brother, Mahomed Ali or Khosroo Khan, whose mother was of the first family in Sinna after that of the Vali himself, and who was besides the Vali's favourite son. Some quarrels arose between the brothers, in which the father shewed a marked preference for the younger. Mahommed Hussein Khan became disgusted, and some designing people availed themselves of this, to foment the dissensions. They promised him support, and at last persuaded him to run away from Sinna; which he did a few months ago, at the head of a considerable

body of followers, for he was very popular. He took the road between the territories of Bagdad and Kermanshah, and on his way plundered some of the tribes under his father's government, which were pasturing in the plains of Bagdad and Khanakeen. The Vali, having procured permission from the king of Persia, pursued his son at the head of an army. I arrived at Khanakeen and Kasr i Shireen a couple of days after he had left those places, in March last. He at last came up with his son in the territory of Kermanshah. A battle ensued, in which both sides fought with considerable fury. The Vali had given strict orders that no one should fire at or wound his son; but, in the confusion, the young man received a wound, of which he died shortly after his arrival at Sinna, to which place he was brought after the action. The Vali was almost distracted. He beheaded a great number of his son's followers on the spot; and after his return to Sinna, he put to death upwards of a hundred considerable persons. Nearly four hundred more fled to Kermanshah, and the Vali turned out their wives and families beggars, ruined their houses, and confiscated their property.' Vol. I., pp. 209, 10.

In the origin of this unnatural contest, the fraternal jealousies necessarily resulting from polygamy,—in the anxiety of the father to protect the life of his rebellious son—"Deal gently for my sake with the young man,"—in the fatality by which this command was frustrated,—the overwhelming grief of the parent, in which the triumph over his rebellious subjects was forgotten—"the victory that day was turned into mourning,"—we have an almost exact counterpart to the rebellion and death of Absalom and the conduct of the Jewish monarch, nearly thirty centuries ago. Nor is this surprising: human nature is the same that it was then.

The peasantry of Persian Kōordistan, Mr. Rich says, are by no means so 'good-looking' as those of the Turkish territory; and he seems to have been by no means pleased with either the people or the country. He was glad to get back again to 'the land of hospitality,' and to be welcomed by 'real Koords,' whose national character he considers as superior to that of either Ottomans or Persians. The Koords are in general, he says, 'much more eager after information, much more diffident of themselves, and much easier to instruct, than the Turks, and, I believe, than the Persians either.' The condition of the women is far better in Kōordistan than in either Turkey or Persia; 'that is to say, they are treated as equals by their husbands, and they laugh at and despise the slavish subjection of the Turkish women. There is something approaching to domestic comfort in Kōordistan: in Turkey, the idea is quite unknown.' Although far less scrupulous in concealing themselves from strangers than Turkish or even Arab women, (the lower classes go about the town unveiled,) their morals are far more correct; and 'no women can conduct themselves with more real propriety than

'the Koordish ladies.' Instances of masculine courage are by no means rare among them; and were another Saladin to arise, the martial heroines of romance would find their counterparts in some of the Koordish damsels. In no country, Mr. Rich says, are to be seen so many fine, hale old people of both sexes; and he sums up his account of them by saying:

'I quit Koordistan with unfeigned regret. I most unexpectedly found in it the best people that I have ever met with in the East. I have formed friendships, and been uniformly treated with a degree of sincerity, kindness, and unbounded hospitality, which I fear I must not again look for in the course of my weary pilgrimage.' Vol. I. p. 327.

In two of the individuals with whom he was brought into intimate communication, the reader cannot fail to take a deep interest. One of these, a noble character, Mr. Rich thus characterizes. 'Omar Aga is, in short, the only native of the East I ever met with, in the course of rather a long experience among 'Arabs, Turks, and Persians, to whom I can apply the epithet *'gentleman* in every sense of the word.' The other is the amiable Pasha of Sulimania, whose character presents the yet more remarkable phenomenon of a devout Mussulman.

'Mahmood Pasha is, indeed, a very estimable man, and I shall always think of him with affection. His very countenance is indicative of purity, of candour, and simplicity. I never expected to meet with such a man in the East. I fear many such are not to be met with in better climes. There is a melancholy and a tenderness in his character which render him very interesting. He is all feeling. The death of his son he will not readily get over; and I will confidently assert, that no native of the East ever loved his wife and children as he does. Yesterday evening he went into his haram for the first time since the unhappy event. A child of his brother's met him, and called him father. That name and the infantine voice in which it was pronounced, were too much for him; he shrieked and fell senseless to the ground. It must be recollected that all grief is reprobated by the Mahometan religion; and excess of feeling for a woman or a child is universally despised by the followers of Islam, which preaches only apathy and sternness. The Pasha has become more really religious than any Oriental I ever knew; yet it has not made him fanatic or unfeeling. His better nature has risen above the degrading doctrines of Mahommedism. Yet a worse man would make a better prince; and Mahmood Pasha is by no means the chief that Koordistan requires; his virtues are all those of private life.' pp. 324, 5.

Of this, the worthy Pasha seemed so fully conscious, that he expressed to Mr. Rich his wish to abdicate, saying with great ingenuousness: 'I cannot help wondering how God was pleased to make me a governor.' 'For the benefit of so many thousands of 'people,' replied Mr. Rich. 'Alas!' rejoined the Pasha, 'then

‘ what an account shall I have to give him at the last day !’ We must make room for the following narrative, given as nearly as possible, Mr. Rich assures us, in the Pasha’s own words, who mentioned the circumstances ‘ not in praise of himself, but simply ‘ as a fact illustrative of the advantage of placing our confidence ‘ in God.’

“ During the time that I was a hostage at Kermanshah, for the fidelity of my late father, he was obliged by circumstances to adopt the Turkish interests. My life was consequently forfeited ; and the Shahzadeh sent for me to put me to death. It was night. I was brought before him with my hands tied behind my back. The Prince was sitting in his hall, and lighted candles were in the middle of it, and the executioner stood by ready to perform his office on me. Many a man who would face death in the field of honour, would shrink at being brought up, with his hands bound, before the executioner. It was a fearful sight (may God never show it to you !); and I own, my courage forsook me. In my agony, however, I had presence of mind left to call on the name of the Lord ; and, praised be his name, it was instantly revealed to me. I felt it strike on my heart, as if the following words had been impressed on it :—‘ Am I not He who brought thee out of thy mother’s womb, and protected thee through all dangers to the present hour ? Might I not have destroyed thee at any moment ? therefore why fearest thou now ? Can this man do aught against thee, except by my will ?’ At that instant I felt comfort, my heart gained strength, and I stood before the Prince, who only remanded me back to prison, and nothing more was done to me.” Vol. I., pp. 144, 5.

One is ready to say of such a man, “ Thou art not far from the kingdom of God.” Could a New Testament, in his own tongue, have been put into his hands, may we not presume that “ the truth as it is in Jesus” would have commended itself to his conscience and heart ? But fifteen years have rolled away ; and Mahmood Pasha and Osman Aga are, probably, no longer numbered with the living.

Mr. Rich was surprised to learn, that in the Koordish province of Shehrizoor there are some villages entirely composed of Afghans, who retain their own language. There are also some tribes of Afshars, Nadir Shah’s tribe. How these Afghans came to be settled in Koordistan, presents a subject of curious inquiry. That they have emigrated, or been forcibly transplanted, from what we call Afghanistan, is possible. Yet, if the Afghans or Aghovans be the same people as the Albanians of the Caspian provinces, (of whom Timoor is stated to have transported large numbers to Kandahar*,) it seems more reasonable to suppose that they have entered Koordistan from Armenia,—if, indeed,

* See Dwight’s Missionary Researches in Armenia. 8vo. p. 182.

they may not claim to class with the aboriginal inhabitants. We think it far from impossible that a closer affinity may be detected between the Koords and the Afghans, when their dialects come to be analysed, than has been hitherto imagined. From the scanty and imperfect specimens of the Koordish dialects given in these volumes, (of which, had the Author lived, we should doubtless have had no reason to complain,) the vocabularies of the several tribes seem considerably different; as is the case in all mountainous territories, through the separation and isolation of different branches of the same family; and we observe both Arabic and Persian terms.

We have still before us the second volume, containing, with other interesting details, the results of Mr. Rich's careful survey of the site of Nineveh, some curious information relating to the Yezidees and the Chaldean Christians, and much valuable topographical matter. But having taken leave of Koordistan, we must here reluctantly part from Mr. Rich, recommending our readers to pursue the sequel for themselves. They will find that we have by no means exhausted the topics of interest which these volumes supply. In conclusion, we beg to return our thanks to the accomplished Editor for having given them to the public.

Art. III.—*Random Recollections of the House of Lords*, from the Year 1830 to 1836, including personal Sketches of the Leading Members. By the Author of "*Random Recollections of the House of Commons*." 12mo, pp. 408. Price 10s. 6d. London, 1836.

BY a law of our intellectual constitution, we sympathize only with individuals; while collective bodies, in whatever light they may be viewed, do not act upon the imagination, except as abstract ideas. A murder affects our sympathies more powerfully than a battle, unless the details of personal suffering are brought home to us by description. A monarch or his minister, a general or an orator, may be the object of devoted attachment, unbounded admiration, or affectionate confidence; but, for a Government, a Cabinet, a Legislative body, or an army, we can feel no loyalty, no affection, but merely the sentiments which result from reasoning about them. That men are very powerfully affected, and to a great extent governed, by abstract ideas, the idols of the intellects, is undeniable, and quite consistent with the fact we are referring to. For abstract ideas are individual things; they are personifications to which the imagination attributes the substantial qualities and *individuality* of persons. Thus does the idolater of the Holy Mother, the Church, speak of the object of his fervent devotion; and thus does the political fanatic feel towards the ab-

stract object of his idolatry. For the House of Commons and the House of Lords, as institutions forming integral parts of our constitutional system of government,—which is the proper idea of them in the abstract,—every sound-thinking Englishman must feel the highest reverence. But, for the actual bodies now composing those Houses, which is the concrete idea, we are likely to feel only such sentiments as are inspired by their public acts; sentiments of rational, or, it may be, of misjudging approbation or disapprobation. Very different, however, is the way in which we feel towards individual members of the legislature,—the popular leader, the favourite orator, the mighty demagogue, or those who, either by personal acquaintance or by familiarizing description, are brought into direct contact with us. Our sympathies are enlisted on behalf of the party to which they belong; and even the institutions of the country take a stronger hold upon our affections, in proportion to the individual and collective popularity of those who take the lead in public affairs.

‘The British House of Lords,’ said Mr. Fox, ‘stands on the hereditary, known, and acknowledged respect of the country for particular institutions.’ But it is not to be conceded, that the respect of the country for ancient institutions, merely because they are ancient, has been greatly undermined by the increase of general intelligence and the diffusion of wealth. The illusion, the reverential deference with which the person and dignity of a peer were once regarded, have been considerably dispelled. We have, on a former occasion, entered into the consideration of some of the causes which have tended to lower the Peers in the estimation of the people*. One main cause is, that, through the policy pursued during the long reign of Toryism, the House of Lords has ceased to represent the WHOLE territorial aristocracy of the country, or to exhibit in their fair balance, the two great parties of the Whig and Tory aristocracy. From the great preponderance of mushroom nobles, Scotch and Irish elective peers, noble paupers dependent on the Treasury, and obsequious prelates, over the peers of extended landed interest, it has greatly declined from its constitutional character. Not only has the wealth of the Commons come to rival that of the Peers, but, in the Cokes, the Burdetts, the Byngs, the Hanburys, and the Portmans of the Commons’ House, we have seen the best supporters of the genuine character of the Barons of England; of that hereditary aristocracy to whom the country has been accustomed to look as the constitutional barrier protecting the people against the pressure of an ever-encroaching Prerogative, or defending against an impetuous democracy the rights of the Crown. It may appear a solecism, but it

* Ecl. Rev., Third Series, Vol. VI., pp. 361—365.

is a fact, that the Peers are more advantageously and effectively *represented* in the House of Commons by their eldest sons and other relatives, than they are by the Lyndhursts and Wynfords, the Ellenboroughs and Haddingtons, the Teynhams and Waterfords, the Kenyons and Montfords of the Upper House, or by Lord Lauderdale's sixteen Scotch barons, or by the whole bench of lawn-sleeved spirituals. A very large portion of the House of Peers must be considered as belonging only by courtesy to the aristocracy of the country; and this is the case with several of the personages who take the most prominent part in the debates, and are supposed to have a leading influence. Though the number of members in the House of Lords is only about a third less than the number of members in the other House, the attendance on important occasions is usually nearly three times as great in the latter as in the former. 'There are seldom,' we are told, 'more than twenty or thirty Peers present, except when some unusually important business is before the House. The place and proceedings are consequently, on such occasions, extremely dull and uninteresting.' This circumstance, together with the repulsive absurdity of the system of legislating by proxy,—of deciding without hearing, and voting *en masse*,—has greatly contributed to diminish the public respect for the proceedings of the hereditary legislature. Yet, some advantage results from the House of Lords being, as regards the usual attendance, a committee of Peers, rather than an aggregate assemblage of all the noble persons who have seats in the House: the business, being in the hands of a few, is conducted with the greater regularity and quietness. 'Every one,' says the Author of these Recollections, 'who has had the opportunity of observing the proceedings in both Houses, must have been struck with the decided superiority of the Upper over the Lower House, in regard to the talent, order, and good taste displayed in debating on public questions.' This is explained in part by the small and select character of the assembly; in part by the circumstance, that the chief debaters have generally had the advantage of being 'drilled into habits of public speaking and transacting public business, by a sort of apprenticeship in the House of Commons.' The Members of the other House, as the present Writer remarks,

'have no such advantages: a great number of the members of that House retire at every general election,—not to mention the changes which take place in the representation of the country in the interval; while their places are supplied by raw country gentlemen, and persons who know nothing of public business or public speaking,—many of whom perhaps never were in the House in their lives. To school such persons into a knowledge of the rules and forms of the House, requires, in many cases, a period of some years. But this is not all. In the House of Commons, the members being responsible to their

constituents, and liable to be dismissed on the recurrence of every new general election, are often, for the sake of retaining their good opinion, obliged to make speeches whether Nature has intended them for public speaking or not; and often, too, on particular subjects with which they are but imperfectly acquainted. Indifferent exhibitions on the floor of the Lower House must, in many cases, be the result of this disagreeable necessity. In the Upper House, the members are more fortunately circumstanced. Responsible to no constituency or person, and certain of their seats for life, unless they commit any serious crime against the State, they are perfectly free to act as they choose—to make a speech or to maintain unbroken silence, just as they feel inclined.

The scenes of confusion so common in the other House, are of very rare occurrence in the Lords. In the latter place, one's ears are never assailed by the zoological sounds so frequently to be heard in the Lower House. The art of cock-crowing has yet to be learned by the Peers; nor have any of their Lordships yet afforded evidence of possessing the enviable acquirement of braying like a certain long-eared animal, yelping like a dog, or mewling like the feline creation. You hear no sounds in the Upper House resembling those emitted by a Scotch bag-pipe or an Italian hand-organ. There are no ventriloquists there: if you wish to see exhibitions, and hear sounds of this description, you must descend to the Lower House, where you cannot fail to form a very exalted opinion of the talents of the principal performers.

In the Lords, the triumphant party never even cheer, in the usual acceptance of the term, however great the victory they have achieved over their opponents. The announcement of the result of every division is heard in unbroken silence. In the course of the debates—however high party feeling may run on each side of the question—you never witness any other demonstration of that feeling than in an occasional 'Hear, hear!' Or it may be, your ears are greeted with cries of 'Order, order!' from the opposite side, when any member is transgressing, or is supposed to be transgressing the rules of the House, either as regards the respect due to some Peer individually, or to the House in its collective capacity. You are struck with the gravity which usually characterises the proceedings in the Upper House. The contrast will appear particularly striking, if you have been in the other House in some of its more noisy and uproarious moods. The gravity, indeed, of the proceedings in the Lords, often verges on dullness: still you cannot fail to be struck with the superior talents and business habits of their Lordships.'

Such scenes as are here referred to are not, however, of very frequent occurrence in the House of Commons; and we cannot but believe that the progress of reform will extend even to the after-dinner manners of our representatives. 'Somnolent Peers,' moreover, we are told, are rarely to be seen, with two remarkable exceptions.

The exceptions I refer to are a Ministerial Duke and a member of the Right Rev. Bench of Bishops. His Grace has not been very regular in his attendance of late: formerly he was very exemplary in his

legislative conduct in so far as his presence and his votes were concerned; but he never heard a word of the debates. No matter how important the question, or who were the speakers,—there he sat firmly locked in the arms of Morpheus, with his head half buried in his breast. He always sat, as Milton would have said, “apart by himself.” What is worthy of observation is, that he was most regular in his attendance when there was no subject of importance before the House; and when, consequently, the benches were comparatively empty. If there was one bench on his side of the House which was unoccupied, on it he was sure to seat himself. The Right Rev. Prelate to whom I refer, has not quite so strong a disposition to somnolency: he only addresses himself to sleep occasionally during the proceedings; but when he does so, there is no mistake about the matter. Soundly and well does he sleep. Nothing will awake him until he has had his nap out. Not even the thunders of Lord Brougham’s eloquence, when in his most violent and impassioned moods, have the slightest effect in the way of disturbing the Right Rev. Prelate’s slumbers. While the Lord Chancellor, in the debate on the Irish Tithes Bill, in August, 1834, was causing the walls of the House to resound with the fierce invectives he hurled “at all and sundry” opposed to Ministers, and especially at the devoted head of the Earl of Mansfield,—the Right Rev. Bishop slept as “sweetly” as if his Lordship had only been singing a lullaby. The zest with which he enjoys a stolen slumber appears to be so great, that he must often, on awaking, have cordially concurred with Sancho Panza in invoking a thousand blessings on the head of him who invented sleep. In fact, the profoundness of his slumbers seems to be in proportion to the loudness of the tones of the speaker. How profound, if this hypothesis be a correct one, would be his Reverence’s repose in the immediate vicinity of the Falls of Niagara! Byron loved the ocean’s roar. The roar of this mighty cataract would be “most sweet music” to the Right Rev. Prelate’s ears.’

As their Lordships in general keep earlier hours than the Commons, and take public business much more easily, their more wakeful and dignified deportment is not, after all, so very admirable. But, allowing the Peers all the superiority which this Writer claims for them in point of order, and breeding, and good taste, these qualities will not compensate, in the eyes of the nation, for the deficiency of those higher virtues which are adapted to command the homage and confidence of the people. These, if they exist at all, must exist and be conspicuous in individuals; and accordingly, the character of the House in popular estimation will always much more depend upon the few who give the tone to the debates, by their ascendant influence, than upon the average talents or general good manners of the hundred and ten earls, or two hundred viscounts and barons, who form the dead masses in a division.

Now it is certainly a somewhat startling fact, that, among these hereditary legislators, the leading and commanding few are al-

most all new peers, ennobled commoners. The notoriety and prominence enjoyed by some two or three bloated aristocrats of long descent and large rent-rolls, are not derived from their intellectual superiority. The present volume contains sketches of sixty-three peers—rather more than a seventh of the House, and comprising nearly all that take any part, more than take a distinguished part, in the debates of the House. Now of these sixty-seven, the following have been, within a very recent period, called up from the House of Commons, or raised from the ranks of the clergy, and are new to the peerage: Lord Wynford. Lord Lyndhurst. Lord Fitzgerald. Lord Ashburton. Lord Abinger. Lord Wharnccliffe. Earl of Durham. Lord Brougham. Lord Plunkett. Lord Denman. Lord Cottenham. Lord Langdale. Lord Hatherton. Earl of Ripon. Archbishops Howley and Whately. Bishops Philpotts, Blomfield, Maltby, and Grey. Going a very little way further back, we should find others that became illustrious as commoners before they were ennobled. The coronet which graces the head of that high aristocrat, Earl Grey, is not above thirty years old; and it was in the House of Commons that Charles Grey, the friend of the people, laid the foundation of his reputation as a patriotic statesman. His father was created Earl Grey in concession to the son; but, as an old family, the House of Grey ranked with the aristocracy, before it was admitted into 'the order.' Lord Melbourne's title is little more than fifty years old; and as Member for the County of Hertford, he also received his political education in the House of Commons. The Earl of Eldon is the first aristocrat of his family; and even the Duke of Wellington, though of an ancient house, must be enumerated among the peers of recent creation, who do not hold their seats by any hereditary claim. The Earl of Burlington and Lord Duncannon, are new peers, but of noble families.

Deducting these twenty-six distinguished names from the sixty-three which appear in the list before us, we have thirty-seven left, who may be classed as follows: Two royal dukes, Cumberland and Sussex. Eight Irish noblemen who sit as English peers;—Duke of Leinster; Marquesses Wellesley, Londonderry, Clanricarde, and Conyngham; Earls Roden, Wicklow, and Limerick. Four Scotch Peers; Dukes of Gordon and Buccleugh, Earl of Aberdeen, Earl Fife. Six English peers whose patents are of recent date,—Marquess of Anglesea; Earls Harrowby, Rosslyn, and Mulgrave; Lords Ellenborough and Kenyon; who have been indebted for their elevation either to their own public services, or to those of their immediate predecessors. We have now left the names of the following territorial magnates—Dukes of Newcastle, Buckingham, Northumberland, Richmond, and Sutherland; Marquesses Salisbury, Lansdowne, Westminster,

and Cleveland; Earls of Winchelsea, Mansfield, Radnor, Carnarvon, and Fitzwilliam; with whom we must class, as peers by hereditary right, Lords Holland and Teynham.

Of the hereditary peers of ancient family or extensive landed possessions, the Marquess of Lansdowne, Earl Fitzwilliam, Earl Radnor, Earl Mansfield, Earl Carnarvon, the Duke of Richmond, and Lord Holland have alone displayed any talents rising above mediocrity; and the first three distinguished themselves as Members of the House of Commons. Lord Holland would have achieved distinction for himself, from whatever rank he had started on his political career. Whatever may be urged in favour of an hereditary peerage, it is quite evident, then, that the House of Lords derives an extremely small portion of its intellectual lustre, or of the high consideration due to so august a body, from the old peers, those who represent the landed aristocracy, or who claim to legislate for the country in virtue of hereditary wisdom.

In the important and interesting debate of last Wednesday (April 27) upon the Irish Municipal Corporations Bill, the only peers who spoke were the following: Lord Fitzgerald, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Abinger, Lord Holland, Lord Lyndhurst, Viscount Melbourne; four out of the six being new peers. This is but an instance of the way in which the business of the House is for the most part carried on; so that, but for the reinforcements continually drawn from the other House, the Peers would find the task of legislation not a little burdensome and embarrassing. Yet, no fewer than 322 peers voted on this occasion, 205 being present, and 117 voting by their proxies. In the House of Commons, however, Lord John Russell, Lord Stanley, Lord Francis Egerton, and other distinguished members of noble and ancient houses, the real representatives of the English aristocracy, took a prominent part in debating the same question. So that it would seem as if all the talent of the Peerage found its way into the Lower House, while the superannuation found refuge in the Upper, which, though nominally a house of hereditary peers, is chiefly conducted by one or two dexterous lawyers, political prelates, or veteran Commons' men, who owe nothing to their descent, and who have, in most cases, a far less stake in the country than most of the English county members.

At a time when attempts are made by the Tory party writers to depreciate the House of Commons, by whom the business of the country is really conducted, and to exalt unduly the other branch of the legislature, as exhibiting even the superiority in intellect, it becomes necessary to place the facts in a just light. The Tory Peers have been of late almost ostentatiously courting a collision with the people, which they are ill prepared to sustain; and we have deemed it useful to shew that the moral and political strength of the Peers lies in the House of Commons, *not in*

the House of Peers; the recent proceedings of which have tended fearfully to undermine the confidence of the nation in that House as at present constituted and governed. 'The ancient institutions of all countries,' remarks a philosophical and patriotic writer, (Mr. Douglas,) 'will soon have to plead their cause at the bar of public opinion. Nothing will be allowed to remain which cannot be proved to be conducive to the national welfare. By utility, or the want of it, every institution must stand or fall. A large and increasing party throughout Europe, judge hereditary nobility absurd and barbarous, and worthy only of the feudal times, to which it ought to have been confined; and the nobility of Europe, to the best of their power, furnish their adversaries with arguments. They have lost the ancient spirit which made them the ornament and defence of their countries. Instead of opposing any barrier to despotism, they are become its most abject and willing tools; and in our country, where they still remain a third order in the state, too many of them have lost that love of liberty which once distinguished their ancestors, and seem to have forgotten that a free government is intended to convey benefits to a nation, and not to secure pensions and sinecures to the few at the expense of the many. . . . The aristocracy, if they understood their true interests, should be more favourable than any other class to the extension of liberty. It is only in a free government, where all men have equal rights, and where the respect of the nation is the source of the highest honour, that a nobility can enjoy the true privileges that belong to it, and confer upon the nation at large those benefits for which the order was originally instituted. . . . The representatives of the virtues of past times and of their deceased ancestors, and (if their opportunities and leisure are well cultivated) the first to be acquainted with the improvements of science, they would form the living links which give unity to the whole history of the nation, and connect together its earliest and its latest glories.*

It has been said, with too much truth, that 'no one liberal, reforming, popular measure has originated in the House of Peers.' Exercising the power of a board of control over the representatives of the people, they have exerted themselves to defeat, or delay, or mutilate every measure of concession, but have carefully abstained from exercising their restrictive privilege by softening the rigour, abating the extravagance, or enlarging the policy of any of those unpopular acts in which the Commons have too frequently indulged.† But again we

* Prospects of Britain, p. 65, *et seq.*

† "What will the Lords do?"

must distinguish between the House of Peers and the aristocracy. Those liberal, reforming, and healing measures which have met with such hostile opposition in the House of Lords, have found their most strenuous and able supporters in the representatives of our noble and ancient families, compared with whom the majority of the peers are a titled rabble of splendid paupers, whose proxy vote alone stands between them and dignified insignificance. But, again to cite Mr. Douglas, 'it is one favourable sign for Britain, that the descendants of many of its titled patriots still preserve an hereditary love for freedom, and, like those illustrious families among the Romans who obtained a lasting name from their devotion to the cause of their country, they remain the friends of the people, generation after generation; and while their bodies are crumbling in the dust, the heroic and transmigrating spirit still continues to animate their remote posterity.'

Considerations of this grave nature are not adverted to in the pleasant volume which has led us into this train of remark, and from which we have perhaps too long detained our readers. Yet, we could not refrain from indulging in a few preliminary remarks upon the constitution and character of the two Houses, which exhibit at this moment a striking, and, to a foreigner, inexplicable political contradiction—the House of the people recognizing as its leader a liberal nobleman, the hereditary friend and champion of the cause of civil and religious liberty; the House of the aristocracy led and governed by a wily lawyer of plebeian origin, an American by birth, an apostate from liberal principles, and the very Mephistopheles of Toryism. Of this very 'talented' and extraordinary person—'the ablest man, unquestionably,' in the House of Lords, 'with the single exception of Lord Brougham,' in the judgement of the present Writer,—we shall now proceed to give the description and brief biographical notice contained in these 'Recollections.'

' LORD LYN DHURST

' is a native of America, whence he came over to this country in early life with his father, who was a portrait-painter, and who settled in Great Britain, in the hope of bettering his circumstances. His hopes were more than realized. He succeeded so well in his profession as to enable him to give his son the best education England could afford. Mr. Copley was originally destined for the church, and, with the view of entering into Holy Orders, became a member of Trinity College, Cambridge. As, however, he soon afterwards gave up all idea of applying himself to the discharge of clerical duties, he only retained his degree seven years.

' Perhaps few men have more suddenly raised themselves from the depths of obscurity to the heights of distinction, than the noble Lord.

In 1813, he was made Serjeant-at-Law. In 1818, he was raised to the office of Chief Justice of Chester. On the first day of Hilary Term in the following year, he took his seat within the bar as one of his Majesty's Counsel. His great talents and extensive legal knowledge were perceived and duly appreciated by the Judges and the Bar in the Courts of Law in which he practised; but he was comparatively unknown to the public, until, in conjunction with Sir Charles (then Mr.) Wetherell, he made his memorable and successful defence in the case of the elder Watson, arraigned for high treason. Hitherto his practice had been but limited; after that time briefs poured in upon him from all kinds of litigants, and from all parts of the country. The Radicals of that day contributed in no small degree to keep up the reputation which by that great effort he had acquired: for many weeks after, the walls of the metropolis, and all large towns, were placarded with his name as the triumphant counsel of Watson; and his health was drunk with rapturous applause at every public dinner at which the Reformers of that period met to advance their principles. In the year last mentioned, 1819, Mr. Copley was appointed Solicitor-General, in which capacity he had a few months afterwards to appear for the Government in the prosecution against Queen Caroline. He was created Attorney-General in 1824. In 1826, he succeeded Lord Gifford as Master of the Rolls; and in 1827, he was raised to the highest elevation a subject can attain: he was appointed Lord Chancellor.

‘Lord Lyndhurst is one of the most ingenious sophists that ever belonged to the House of Parliament. . . . His manner is most insinuating. There is usually something so seductive in it, that, if you are not specially on your guard, you are sure to be led astray. No one would ever infer, from any thing he says or does, that he has in his composition the smallest particle of the partisan. You would think on all occasions that the particular view he takes of a question is solely the result of disinterested, unbiassed conviction. In all he says, and in his manner of saying it, there is every appearance of sincerity. You would at once set him down as a lover of truth for its own sake. I am far from meaning to insinuate that he does not love truth for its own sake, or that he is not sincere in his political opinions. It is but charitable to presume he is so on all points of importance; but, like most other men on both sides of the House, he is obliged to view questions with the eye of a partisan, and to have recourse to sophisms where legitimate arguments are not within his reach. In most other men, the partisan and the sophist are too transparent to be mistaken; in the case of Lord Lyndhurst they are scarcely ever so. You are satisfied, as I have just said, that in him all is the result of honest conviction—that party considerations have never been allowed to weigh one atom in the conclusions to which he has come, nor have had any thing to do with the course of conduct he pursues.

‘Lord Lyndhurst is a nobleman of the most perfect coolness and self-possession. I never yet knew an instance in which an opponent disconcerted him, or elicited from him any ebullition of passion. He is always as cool and collected as if he had not a particle of feeling or passion in his nature. Even on those great and absorbing questions

which agitate all other bosoms, he invariably maintains the utmost calmness and composure. His clear and musical voice is never raised, though it manifestly has ample compass, to any thing like a loud, or indignant, or energetic tone, nor did any one ever yet witness in him any thing approaching to vehement gesture. Seldom, indeed, does he use any gesture at all, farther than a very gentle movement of his right arm. He speaks in that calm and collected tone which you might expect in one who was addressing an audience of ladies, and who was afraid of giving utterance to any thing which might grate on their ears, or in the slightest degree agitate their gentle bosoms. Not even the most violent and furious attacks of his great enemy, Lord Brougham, can betray him into a loss of temper. I have seen him quite cool and seemingly indifferent, while Lord Brougham has been pouring out on him his most virulent vituperation, and I have also seen him rise up and ably repel those attacks, without affording the slightest indication of an irritated temper.

It is not to be inferred from this, that Lord Lyndhurst is either deficient in political feeling, or insensible to personalities. No man is more decided in his opinions, or more attached to them and his party; neither is any one more alive to personal attack. His apparent coolness on the one hand, and his indifference on the other, are doubtless the result of a severe course of self-discipline, to which he subjected himself in early life. A man of his great shrewdness must have perceived, before his appearance on the theatre of public affairs, the immense advantages which self-possession, and apparent coolness and indifference under attack, give to one who has to take part in the conflict of politics, over an opponent; and therefore the noble Lord determined to repress every symptom of warmth of political feeling or sensitiveness to personal attack. Last Session he furnished some wonderful instances of this. The substitution of the Peel for the Melbourne Ministry, at the commencement of the Session, and the discussions on the Municipal Corporation Reform Bill, at a later period, gave to the personal attacks of Lord Brougham on the noble Lord, an unusual degree of virulence and furiousness. Lord Lyndhurst, however, to the great annoyance of Lord Brougham, bore them all with the most imperturbable equanimity. At the same time, he took special care to return the blows of his deadly enemy with equal effect, though with infinitely less apparent energy. On the very first night of the communications and explanations respecting the ejection of the Melbourne Administration, he hit Lord Brougham some hard blows, and yet seemingly in the coolest manner, in return for a fierce attack which the latter nobleman had that evening made on him. He pronounced it to be the flippant attack of a flippant person, and went on, without mincing his words, but with the most perfect coolness, to give him blow after blow, until, after writhing in his seat till he could no longer endure it, he rose up and called out, "Order, order!" There was something amusing in this as the only person who had the right of correcting any one who trespassed against the rules of the House, was the noble Lord himself who, as Lord Brougham conceived, was guilty of such violation. This was like appealing from Lord Lyndhurst, as the person speaking at the time, to Lord Lyndhurst, as the Lord Chancellor. The noble

Lord, however, heeded not the appeal: regardless of Lord Brougham's exclamations, he proceeded with the same ease and equanimity of manner in the work of retaliation as when his opponent first interrupted him.

Lord Lyndhurst excels, when he chooses to indulge in it, in quiet irony. Nothing can be more galling to his opponent than some of his ironical observations. In the course of one of the discussions on the Municipal Corporation Reform Bill, last session, the noble Lord made one of the happiest hits in this way I have ever witnessed. After castigating his rival in terms of no ordinary severity, he all at once assumed an air of special friendliness to him, and begged to introduce to his notice some passages from a pamphlet, by a seemingly very respectable sort of personage, called Isaac Tomkins. As I quote from memory, I cannot give the particular phraseology which the noble Lord employed on the occasion, but it was ironically felicitous in the highest degree, and elicited bursts of laughter from both sides of the House.

* * * * *

Lord Lyndhurst cannot be said, in the usual sense of the term, to be an eloquent speaker. His manner is infinitely too cold and formal to give that effect to his matter, which, when spoken, would deserve the name of a high order of eloquence. When his speeches are read, however, many passages commend themselves to one's mind as instinct with eloquence of a superior class. His style is clear, perspicuous, and simple in no ordinary degree. It has a good deal of the Addison in it: it is always correct; it is polished, without being elaborately so. He speaks with marvellous ease: his sentences flow from him copiously and naturally: he scarcely ever has to recall a word, nor could the most fastidious ear detect one out of place, in the course of a long speech. His delivery is neither too slow nor too rapid: he never speaks long at a time, in comparison with the length at which some other noble Lords would address the House on the same subject. He is always listened to with the deepest attention by noble Lords of all shades of politics. The moment he rises, all is quiet; and not a breath is to be heard till he has resumed his seat. Independently of his universally acknowledged talents as a debater, there is something in his very appearance and manner calculated to command attention and respect. He has a fine manly figure, and the moment he rises and commences his speech, there is, in addition to a very intelligent countenance, a manifest consciousness of his own intellectual superiority,—without any thing having the slightest resemblance to conceit,—which cannot fail of insuring attention and respect from all present.

In height, he is rather above the usual size, and, as just stated, is of a handsome make. His countenance, like his manner of addressing the House, is open and winning: he always looks cheerful and good-natured. Those who did not know his character would infer from the expression of his face, that he was soft and modest to such an extent as to trench on energy and decision of mind. His forehead is high, and well developed, and his mouth is full of character! his eye is quick and piercing, and his nose has a good deal of the aquiline

conformation. His complexion is dark, and his face inclines to the oval form. What the colour of his hair is, I do not know, as he wears a wig. He is apparently of a sound and healthy constitution, and looks much younger than he is. No one, to see him in the House of Lords, would suppose him to be in his sixty-fourth year. When he used to sit in a court of law, clothed in the habiliments of a judge, he looked perhaps as old as he is.

As a tactician, Lord Lyndhurst is stated to have no rival in either House. Yet, though 'wily and tricky in the extreme,' it is quite true that he has more than once 'over-reached himself, and plunged his party deeper into the difficulties from which 'he intended to extricate them.' The description of his countenance is not that of a physiognomist. His Lordship's features, though strongly developed, have a feminine softness about them: the general expression is that of conscious power in repose,—intellectual power, *sheathed* in that soft exterior, concealed beneath that winning manner,—majesty unallied to goodness,—like that of the striped monarch of the jungle, as he couches in apparent indolence, yet ready for the spring. Nothing can be more complete than the contrast between the two Ex-chancellors. Here is the portrait of his great rival.

‘ LORD BROUGHAM.

‘ To those who have been in the House any time, and paid ordinary attention to what is passing around them, it is no difficult matter to anticipate the time or occasion on which LORD BROUGHAM will rise to address their Lordships. If any pointed allusion be made to him by any Peer on the opposite side, and he have not already addressed the House, you may rest assured the noble and learned Lord will get up the moment the Peer who is speaking has resumed his seat; for though no man is more frequent or fierce in his attacks on others than his Lordship, he is one of the most sensitive persons I ever knew to the attacks made on himself, and he is perfectly miserable until he has returned the blow with tenfold force on his hapless adversary. On other occasions you may tell with unerring certainty when Lord Brougham is about to speak. When anxious to address their Lordships himself, he gives the most manifest signs of impatience for the conclusion of the speech which some other noble Lord is delivering at the time. When, to use a homely but expressive term, you see him fidgetty, while some Peer on the opposite side is speaking, no matter whether or not any allusion has been made to him,—the odds are two to one that he rises when the other sits down. If you see him sitting with one leg over the other, and his face to the bar instead of to the woolsack,—the presumption increases one hundred per cent. that he is the next person to address their Lordships; but if, in addition to these symptoms of his mind labouring with some tumultuous emotions of which he is anxious to rid himself, you see his head drooping as if his face were half buried in his breast, and observe him give a hasty scratch to the back of his head, accompanied with two or three twitches of his nose; if on any

occasion, you observe all this, while an Opposition Peer is speaking—and you will not observe it on any other—you may rely on his Lordship's succeeding the present speaker with as much confidence as you repose in the rising of to-morrow's sun.

When Lord Brougham rises to speak, the stranger is so forcibly struck with his singular personal appearance, as to be altogether inattentive to the first few sentences of his speech. His lofty forehead—his dark complexion—his prominent nose—the piercing glare of his rolling eye—the scowl of his brow—the harshness of his features generally—the uproarious condition of his dark grey hair, and his attenuated appearance altogether—cannot fail in the first instance to attract the eye and arrest the attention, to the exclusion of any thought about what he is saying. This is to a certain extent the case, whatever be the mood of mind in which he rises. But when he gets up to repel a personal attack, or under feelings of strong party excitement—and few men feel more strongly on party questions—there is an abruptness and energy in his manner, which contrast so strongly with the conduct of other Peers, that the stranger feels for a few moments quite confounded.

It is only on a great political question, and one on which he feels very strongly, that Lord Brougham is to be heard to any advantage. Those who have heard him for the first time on such a subject as the repeal of the newspaper duties,—or on a proposed reform in the administration of the law, &c.,—go away wondering what people see in him to admire. On such occasions he reasons well, displays extensive information, considerable thinking powers, and an eloquent and energetic style; but they can see nothing either in his matter or in his manner to entitle him to the reputation of the most effective speaker of the age. It is otherwise when he rises to repel a personal attack, or to speak on any question of party politics. On such occasions you see in his very countenance the consciousness of superior powers. His knit brow, his piercing eyes, the air of supreme scorn towards those who differ from him, which his whole aspect exhibits,—concur with the sentiments to which he gives expression to show you that his whole soul is thrown into his speech. It is then, and only then, that you witness any real display of his amazing powers. He then stands forth an intellectual gladiator, fighting not with one or two opponents only, but with every Peer of any weight who has taken a different view of the subject from himself. No sooner has he, by the liberality and energy of his blows, disabled one opponent, and left him sprawling on the ground, than he deals them out as thickly and heavily to another; and so on until he has vanquished every opponent who has had the temerity to attempt to obstruct his advance to the point to which he was directing his steps. He is not content with pushing aside those who oppose his progress: he lays one and all of them prostrate at his feet, and tramples them in the dust. He gives no quarter to an antagonist. His soul seems to exult in the occupation of butchering his adversaries outright. He is so intent on the object, that he is quite indifferent as to the means; or rather he gives a preference to the most barbarous modes of intellectual warfare. It is not enough that he vanquish his opponent; it must be done in the most cruel and savage manner. His attacks are always of the

fiercest kind. All refinement of feeling, and all the conventional proprieties of language, are utterly disregarded. He disdains to cut up his subjects scientifically or anatomically. For the time being he battles away right and left, and feels as keenly towards his opponent as if it were a personal, not a political or party quarrel, in which he is engaged. His whole heart is set on what a certain class of persons call "punishing" his adversary. This he thinks can only be effectually done by doing it coarsely. He is consequently often called to order for violating the rules of the House; but this only aggravates the evil it was intended to remedy. The more he is interrupted in his attacks on an opponent, the more furious in his manner and the less measured in his language does he become. He is not only not to be put down, however general and decided the feeling of the House may be against the course he is pursuing, but he will not be diverted from his resolution of inflicting the full measure of intended severity on his victim by any means which he chooses to adopt. So long as he is interrupted only by particular Peers, he confines his furious attack to the opponent against whom he was directing his withering sarcasms, and on whom he was heaping his ridicule, at the time of the interruption,—except during the few moments he may step out of his way to apply the lash to those who have called him to order; but when the cry of "Order" has become general, and the confusion so great as to drown his voice, he suddenly pauses until the confusion has subsided, and then pours forth the overflowing phials of his wrath on the Opposition generally.

‘ In Lord Brougham’s angrier moods there is something terrible even in his looks and manner. His eye, as already mentioned, flashes with indignation, his lip curls, his brow has a lowering aspect, and the tones of his voice and the violence of his gesture have something in them which, altogether irrespective of what he says, cannot fail to make an adversary quail before him. And this indignation is not artificial or assumed, like the zeal an advocate manifests for his client, and the indignation with which he denounces the conduct of the opposite party. In Lord Brougham, as already mentioned, it is as real as it is violent. Like all violent feelings, however, it is only of transitory duration. The moment he has resumed his seat, often, indeed, as soon as he has given utterance to the last indignant expression, it passes away, and is no more thought of. In fact his dislikes are too suddenly conceived, as well as too violent, to be, in the nature of things, lasting.

‘ He is an eloquent speaker: but his eloquence has a character of its own. I know of nothing in ancient or modern oratory which can be said to resemble it. His sentences are usually of great length. It is nothing uncommon to see in his speeches, sentences which take more than a minute in the delivery. His style is consequently involved; but independently of the tendency of sentences of such extreme length to become involved, you will often see in one of them parenthesis within parenthesis. These sentences are, however, so constructed, that one never fails to perceive his meaning. You are struck with his amazing command of language—the more so, perhaps, from the original character of his diction, and the manifest ease with which he imparts that character to it. It is not fine or smooth: it is rough and rugged, and yet, generally speaking, it is perfectly correct of its kind. It resembles

the Johnsonian more than the Addisonian, and yet is in many respects unlike the former. There is no appearance of effort about it: it is not pompous or affected in him, though no man could imitate it without a great effort, and, even then, but with indifferent success. It partakes much of the essential character of his mind. Like himself, it is impetuous. It is like a rushing torrent, hurrying you along without giving you time even to attempt to resist its power. Nothing can obstruct its course. Lord Brougham never attempts to seduce you into his views of a question, nor to win you over to his opinions: he drags you over by force. You are not pleased with his principles, or the measures he advocates; you adopt the one, and you concur in the other, because you cannot help it; nor do you feel the slightest affection for the speaker. You know nothing of the love for your new views, or of the attachment to him who has proselytised you, which usually characterise young converts. You feel as if he had, without any right on his part, attacked your opinions, or the measures you supported, and forced you into a position in which you can find no comfort.

After thus describing him as a speaker, the Writer proceeds to try his hand upon his intellectual character; and he begins by telling us that he is 'a man of most gigantic mind.' Now we must say, that this vague expression does not convey a just idea of Lord Brougham's acute, ever-active, versatile, capacious, but not, strictly speaking, comprehensive or profound mind. That he often sees a question, as if by a kind of intuition, the moment it is presented to him, is, we believe, quite true; as well as that he can master with the greatest ease, in an incredibly short time, the most difficult subjects. But intuitive quickness is rarely combined with the power of detecting truth by the slower process of analysis; and though a dexterous logician, Lord Brougham has shewn himself an inexact reasoner. He sometimes fancies that he has mastered a subject which he has grasped without penetrating. 'Nothing he ever does, whether it be speaking or writing, seems to cost him an effort.' But to sustained and patient efforts of the understanding he is naturally indisposed by the preternatural activity, and marvellous cleverness, and un-sleeping restlessness of his mind. Thus, we are told,

'His industry is untiring. His mind is ever active: it is like the troubled sea, it cannot rest. The moment he has quitted one subject he fixes his mind on another. One plan or project succeeds another as certainly and immediately as day succeeds night. Sometimes he is engaged at the same moment in several schemes, as different, it may be, as it were possible to conceive. Activity appears to be one of the necessities of his nature. A state of mental rest would be to him synonymous with extreme misery. Shut him up in a place by himself, denying him the use of books, and pen, ink, and paper, and you inflict on him the greatest punishment to which a human being could be subjected. Martyrdom itself, in any form you please, could not

have such horrors to his mind. Mental exhaustion is a feeling which he can seldom, if at all experience. I have known him give the closest and most careful attention to important cases in the Court of Chancery, from ten till four o'clock, and at five take his seat on the Woolsack in the House of Lords, where he would narrowly watch all the proceedings until ten or eleven o'clock, and then get up and make a speech of two hours' duration, replying with singular ability, as he proceeded, to every thing of weight which had been urged on the opposite side in the course of the evening. On the following morning, by ten o'clock, he would be again in the Court of Chancery, as fresh and vigorous, both in mind and body, as on the preceding day.'

This restlessness of mind leads his Lordship to delight in collision.

'It would not be enough for him that his great powers were kept in constant exercise by co-operation with other persons; it is necessary to his enjoyment of existence that he come into collision with the minds of others. He ought never to be—and, were he to consult his own individual gratification, he never would be—on the side of the strongest party: opposition is the sphere in which Nature intended him always to move, and the stronger and more powerful the party opposed to him, the better for his own gratification; the more formidable the power with which he conflicts the more strikingly does he display his transcendent talents, and the greater is his enjoyment of life. Other minds find happiness in repose; his only in the excitement and turmoil of battle. He bitterly regrets his having been transplanted to the Lords: in the Commons he found comfort in the repeated scenes of turbulence and uproar which the floor of that house exhibits; the gravity, and dignity, and quiet of the Upper House are the never-failing source of misery to him.

'You see a constant expression of restlessness, discontent, and pugnacity in his countenance during the more quiet proceedings of the House. You need not the aid of a phrenological examination of his cranium to convince you that the organ of combativeness is most prominently developed; one glance of his face will satisfy you on that point. Had destiny made him one of the lower orders of Irishmen, and given him birth in the neighbourhood of Donnybrook, he would have acquired great distinction in the pugilistic exhibitions of its fair; he would always have been giving and receiving broken heads and broken bones.

'His moral courage is great; nothing can daunt him. In the House of Commons, in its unreformed days, he was as obnoxious as could be, to four-fifths of the members. Did this dishearten him? Not in the least. He spoke as boldly, and fought as resolutely, as if four-fifths had been with him.

'It is the same in the Lords. He knows he is hated by the Opposition, and even by several Peers on his own side of politics, with an intensity which even Cobbett himself never surpassed in his enmities, bitter as they were. He knows that every thing he utters is thoroughly disliked, often as much because of the quarter whence it

comes, as on its own account; yet he is not in the least disheartened. He sets to work as cordially and boldly as if he were the idol of their Lordships, and as if every thing which fell from him were music to their ears, and were greeted with the most cordial cheers.

‘He is proud and overbearing: his whole demeanour shows how conscious he is of his own surprising powers. He looks down on the other Peers in the House as if they were of an inferior order of creation. The supercilious airs he often assumes, and the latitude of speech in which he frequently indulges, would not be tolerated in the private intercourse of life. He generally looks for a homage approaching to servility from those with whom he comes in contact. It is the little respect which is shewn him by his fellow Peers, that is the great secret of the furious attacks he so frequently makes on the House of Lords.’

‘When Lord Chancellor, nothing could exceed his conceptions of his own importance.’

Lord Brougham is now in his fifty-seventh year. ‘Till very lately, he looked as strong in health and spirits as ever; but such untiring energy must wear out a frame of iron. Upon the whole, his portrait is admirably sketched; and if we cannot style him, with the Author of these Recollections, ‘the greatest man of the age,’ he is, taken altogether, the most extraordinary, and one of those to whom posterity will be most deeply indebted.

Having given these two full-length portraits, we cannot make room for much more extract. Next to the two Ex-chancellors, the Writer ranks, in point of ability, the Bishop of Exeter. ‘As ‘a sophist,’ the Pamphleteer Prelate ‘has no superior’; his only equal is Lord Lyndhurst. Of the Bishop of London, we have a fair estimate; but the account of his theological opinions is singularly inaccurate, and his Lordship would be more startled than pleased at finding them described as in perfect agreement with those of the Calvinistic Dissenters. That the Writer should have fallen into a few inaccuracies was, however, inevitable; and the wonder is, that, so far as we are aware, they are so few and inconsiderable. Thus, he represents the literary Earl of Carnarvon as a promising reformer; and such, we are assured, when Lord Porchester, he professed to be. Some blunders and discrepancies occur in speaking of the ages of the several peers described. Lord Holland, for instance, who has to complain of the gout more than of time, is spoken of as already gone by, though considerably the junior of Earl Grey and the Duke of Wellington, and not older than Lord Lyndhurst. We see no propriety in speaking in the past tense of an efficient member of the Cabinet, who, so recently as the present week, gave, in his place in Parliament, so admirable a proof of the unimpaired vigour of his intellect. Indeed, this Writer acknowledges that

Lord Holland 'still acquits himself, when addressing the House, 'in a manner which many noble lords, in the prime of life, cannot fail to envy, and which shows what his mental and oratorical qualifications must have been when in the bloom of life.'

'He was then,' continues the Writer, 'remarkable for clearness and comprehensiveness of mind, and for a forcible and eloquent exposition of his views. He excelled in exposing those sophistries of an opponent which would have escaped the perception of others. He saw with a sort of intuition the weak points in an antagonist's speech; and from the felicity and conclusiveness, conjoined with the ease and fluency of his replies, you would have thought he must, by a species of prescience, have anticipated everything of any weight which would emanate from the opposite side, and prepared his own speech accordingly. There is a great deal of this in his speeches still. The speech to which I have already referred, as having been made in favour of the Municipal Corporation Bill last Session, was in reply to a very ingenious speech of Lord Lyndhurst, in opposition to that measure, and the acuteness, ability, and eloquence it evinced in a man so advanced in years, and labouring under such heavy bodily infirmity, were the admiration of all present.

'One prominent feature in the character of Lord Holland was, the fearlessness with which he stood up in the House, as he did out of it, for his principles. He was at all times the strenuous uncompromising defender of those principles, whenever and by whomsoever attacked, though he knew that they were not only disliked, but absolutely detested by at least nine-tenths of the peers, and when they were only coldly approved of and supported in a more modified form, by almost all the remainder.

'Lord Holland's style united elegance with vigour in a degree of which there are but few examples. His voice was clear, commanding, and in some of its intonations musical. He generally pitched it on a loud key; in some of his more animated movements it was unpleasantly loud. He usually spoke with much ease, and always in such a way as proved him to be perfectly master of his subject. In his action there was much energy; sometimes extravagance. Indeed it could hardly have been otherwise, feeling as he did so strongly on all great political questions. His warmth of feeling on such occasions often impeded his utterance. He was invariably listened to with the utmost attention; nor could it have been otherwise from his great talents and eloquence, blended as these were with a striking boldness and energy of manner, and a voice of unusual power.'

Bare justice is done to the noble Premier; nor does the Writer make proper allowance for the very different position in which Lord Melbourne is placed, from that which Earl Grey occupied, when he speaks of the greater success which the latter had in carrying his measures. The alleged fact is itself questionable. A just eulogy is pronounced upon the noble Earl; and Lord Durham has his due meed of admiration. By the way, among

the Liberal Peers, Lord Dacre claimed to be noticed, although he has never greatly distinguished himself in the Upper House. But we must refrain from further criticism or comment, and take leave of the Writer with our cordial thanks for the entertainment he has afforded us, by a volume displaying no ordinary talent, replete with information not easily gleaned, and commendably free from party virulence or offensive personality.

Art. IV. *Notes of a Visit to some Parts of Haïti.* Jan. Feb. 1835.
By the Rev. S. W. Hanna, Island Curate of St. George's, Jamaica.
18mo., pp. 153. London, 1836.

THE condition of Haïti cannot but be deeply interesting to the philanthropist; but, since the failure of the commercial schemes set on foot about ten years ago by some of our merchants, and the demolition of the fantastic dream of an *El Dorado* in the auriferous mountains of St. Domingo, it has seemingly been as much lost sight of as if it had been engulfed in the Atlantic. Mr. Hanna was surprised to find, on his arrival in England, how imperfect and unsatisfactory is the information generally current with regard to the present state of this Black Republic, and how tinctured with unjust prejudice and the spirit of party is the little that is known. His own volume, consisting of the hasty notes of a journal not designed for the public eye, adds but little to the previous stock of our knowledge; but that little is valuable, especially as bearing upon his specific object, which is to 'point out the moral destitution of that benighted land, and to stir up some feeling of interest about the spiritual welfare of its people among the members of the Christian community.'

A brief historical sketch is prefixed to the notes, drawn from Harvey's Sketches, and other respectable sources*, which Mr. Hanna sums up with this emphatic interrogatory.

'Has the reader of the historical sketch, which has now been brought to a close, considered by whom the French planters were expelled the island of Haïti? Was it by a foreign enemy descending with sudden violence upon their coasts? Or was it by men whom, having forced from their home, they had forced to drain, even to the dregs, the bitter cup of a ruthless oppression? Was it by the offspring

* See for a review of this volume, *Eccl. Rev.*, 2d Series, Vol. xxvii. p. 564; and for an account of the revolutionary war and present state of Haïti, up to 1828, *Ibid.*, Vol. xxix. p. 97, et seq., Art. Franklin's Haïti.

of the stranger, bound to them by no ties of kindred, the hereditary enemies of their race? Or was it by their own offspring, "bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh,"—at once the fruit of their unlawful pleasures, and the objects of their paternal hate?

Mr. Hanna landed on the coast of Haïti, Jan. 15, 1835. Among the first things which struck him was, the superior modesty of both men and women, in their apparel, to those of the island he had left; 'nothing at all like the shameless exposure constantly to be seen in Jamaica: on the contrary, the lowest classes are well and decently clad.' The cleanliness of the houses at Jacmel surprised and pleased him. Shops neatly, often elegantly, arranged and well stocked, presented themselves in all the streets; and the people were found very civil and obliging. The roads, however, are in a wretched state, quite impassable by wheels. Speaking of Mr. Mackenzie's account of Haïti, Mr. H. says:

'As far as I can compare the facts he relates with what I daily witness, his statements are true, and cannot be denied. But he has omitted much, that might be said in favour of the people and country; and herein consists his partiality, and tacit misrepresentation. The evils are great undoubtedly, but many redeeming points present themselves. The former, Mackenzie studiously, as appears to me, puts forward, and keeps the latter almost wholly in the back ground, or out of view. I have been highly pleased to find that Mr. Frith, who is far from being a man of those deep prejudices which disgrace tropical whites, and whose experience is that of more than a quarter of a century, entertains just the same opinion of Mackenzie's work. When I laid it down, and expressed myself concerning it to the effect which I have written, he corroborated my opinion, and added, that Mackenzie wrote under the influence of angry feeling from the time of his landing. He is a man of colour; and the circumstance of such a person's being selected to fill the office of Consul General at Haïti, highly displeased the Haïtian government. Owing to this feeling, Mr. Mackenzie, when he landed, did not meet with that honourable reception from the authorities which he felt he had a right to expect.'

pp. 46, 47.

The moral and religious condition of the people is, however, as deplorable as might be expected to result from 'the corrupt principles of Rome united to the vicious practices of African heathenism.' Bad as Jamaica is, Mr. Hanna remarks, 'it has the light of the Gospel. But alas! for Haïti, there is no light, there is no Gospel, no Christianity there.' Yet he found a Padre willing to concur in the circulation of the Scriptures. On a careful review of all that he witnessed during his visit, the Writer thus states his general impressions.

'The country is one of the richest and most beautiful under the

sun. The people, from a variety of unhappy circumstances concurring, are in a low state of civilization ; but they are a well-disposed, quiet people, very kind and very hospitable, and capable of as great advances in every moral and intellectual attainment as any I am acquainted with. Than their religious condition, nothing can be more afflicting.'

We rejoice that the Wesleyan Missionary Society have not altogether overlooked the claims of this benighted and injured people. But what is a single Missionary station amid a population of 800,000 or 1,000,000 souls ?

Art. V.—*Reasons for retiring from the Established Church.* By Charles Hargrove, late Rector and Vicar of Kilmina, in the Diocese of Tuam. 8vo, pp. 64. Price 1s. 6d. Dublin, 1836.

AT the Reformation, 'in place of those great and good men ' who founded Protestantism in Scotland, in Germany, and ' amongst ourselves, Ireland was given in prey to the refuse of ' the English Church.' Such are the strong terms employed by Professor Hoppus, in his eloquent sermon, "Ireland's Misery and Remedy," to describe the wretched policy which, in that country, converted the Reformation itself into a bane and curse. That they are not too strong, the evidence of contemporary Protestant writers fully testifies ; but in the last number of the Quarterly Review, we are unexpectedly furnished with a full admission of the correctness of this representation. After citing Spenser's declaration, that ' many more Roman Catholics might ' have been converted, if the English Government had done their ' part, and have supplied the country with learned, pious, and ' faithful preachers, that would have outpreached and out- ' lived the Irish priests in holy and godly conversation,'—and the strong representations of Sir H. Sydney and Lord Strafford as to the scandalous conduct of the clergy,—the Reviewer adduces in confirmation the following statement from Bishop Burnet's Life of the Apostolic Bedell : ' The Bishop observed, with much regret, that the English had all along neglected the Irish, as a ' nation not only conquered but indisciplinable, and that the ' clergy had scarce considered them as a part of their charge, ' but had left them wholly in the hands of their own priests, ' without taking any other care of them but the making them ' pay their tithes.' The Writer of this Article then proceeds to observe :—

* See Ecl. Rev. Oct. 1835.

' Such was the state of the Protestant Church Establishment in Ireland during the time of Charles I. Considerably greater activity was shown during the Protectorate, both by preaching and printing, in order to make known the principles of the Reformation, than for many years either before or afterwards. Though the Established Church was replaced at the Restoration, it acquired no additional strength, either in a political or religious point of view, during the ambiguous reign of Charles II., the adverse one of James II., or the busy administration of William III., which closed the seventeenth century. Almost the whole of the century which elapsed between 1700 and 1800, during which the exertions of the Church ought to have been so strenuous, and might have proved so effectual for instructing and correcting the people for whose benefit it was established, appears to have passed away in deep and uninterrupted slumber. In so extensive a country there were no doubt many of the parochial clergy, and some of their superiors, who lived and died in the zealous discharge of their duties; but such men were exceptions to the general rule, and insufficiently esteemed or supported. It was the age, generally speaking, of non-residence and non-efficiency. Such of the rectors and vicars as resided, appear to have been contented with living respectably as private gentlemen whose incomes arose from tithes, and the thoughts of the dignified clergy were engrossed by everything but religion. Archbishops Boulter and Stone successively directed the government of Ireland between twenty and thirty years together, as Ximenes, Richelieu, Mazarin, Fleury, Alberoni, and others have done in Roman Catholic countries. To search narrowly into this portion of the history of the Irish Church, and to inquire upon whom, and for what real purpose, its dignities and emoluments were almost invariably conferred, would be a useful but disheartening occupation. With the exception of Usher, Bedell, Jeremy Taylor, and a few other men of extraordinary endowments and devotedness, it was with grief and reluctance one is compelled to acknowledge, that from the time of the Reformation to the commencement of the present century, however amiable and accomplished the Irish clergy may have been as gentlemen and scholars, they were not men of God in the sense in which they ought to have been, devoting the whole energies of mind and body to the service of religion.

' Throughout the two volumes of Archbishop Boulter's Letters, not more than two or three passages at all refer to his ecclesiastical functions, and those few are perfect specimens of that assumed regard and real indifference, with which mere politicians, who possess neither the genuine spirit of Christianity nor the grasp of statesmen, are accustomed to express themselves on such a subject. In a letter to the Bishop of London, in 1730, he tells him, "I can assure you the papists are here so numerous, that it highly concerns us in point of interest, as well as out of concern for the salvation of these poor creatures, who are our fellow-subjects, to try all possible means to bring over them and theirs to the knowledge of the true religion." In the very next letter, he says, the ignorance and obstinacy of the adult papists is such, that there is not much prospect of converting them, but proposes schools for teaching the young papists English. The

tenor of the whole letter shows that the archbishop considered the conversion of Papists into Protestants as an ordinary mechanical operation. Had he been truly anxious to convert the young, he would immediately have renounced his secular public employment, applied himself vigorously to that neglected work, and endeavoured to procure the co-operation of the whole Irish Church in his exalted undertaking. But while he thought that hopes might be entertained of the young Papists, why did he despair of the old? Ignorant they certainly were, and obstinate they might have proved, but what steps, it may be asked, did the Established Protestant Church take to remove their obstinacy? While the Catholic priests continued diligent in season and out of season in confirming the faith of their own flocks, and winning over others to it, in what way were the established clergy of former days employed? Did they take any one of the ordinary means, in public or private, for enlightening the minds or awakening the consciences of those Papists about whose salvation the archbishop assumes they were bound to be solicitous? The lower Irish are passionately attached to their native language. Instead of being a barbarous jargon, it is now allowed to be singularly graphic and poetical, and a few sentences delivered in its well-known sounds are said to have an almost irresistible effect on those who will listen to an address in English without the least emotion. There appear to be, certainly, a million and a half of people in Ireland at present, but probably a far greater number, who understand Irish only, at least well, and their numbers must have been at least great at any time within the last hundred and fifty years. Yet—will it be believed?—until the beginning of the present century, scarcely an effort was made to make them acquainted with the Scriptures or the doctrines of the Reformation, either by speech or printing. The first book printed in Irish was a catechism and primer, in 1571. A translation of the New Testament followed in 1603; the Book of Common Prayer in 1608; and another limited impression of the New Testament in 1681. The translation of the Bible, which that admirable man Bedell had laboured to finish many years before, was published in London only in 1685. Strange as it may seem, the Irish New Testament was not reprinted between 1681 and 1811, nor the Bible between 1685 and 1817.

Oral instruction in Irish has been equally neglected. A lecture in the Irish language was given by Bedell for a short time while he was Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, but neither there nor anywhere else, down to the present time, has any professorship or institution for teaching the Irish language to ministers been established. Bedell, Dr. Jones, Bishop of Meath, the Archbishop of Cashel, Dr. Sall, and some others during the seventeenth century; and Mr. Buren, Archbishop Marsh, Dr. Hickman, Bishop of Derry, and a few others in different parts of Ireland, have felt it their imperative duty either to preach themselves in Irish, or procure one or more ministers to do so,—but the Protestant Established Church has never taken a single active step towards preaching in Irish in those quarters where it is required, nor was there in 1830 a single building in all Ireland set apart for the purpose. In 1834 there seem to have been about

1385 benefices in Ireland. Of these 535 had in 1834 no glebe-house; in 339 the incumbent was non-resident; in 210 there was no church; and in 157 no service was performed by any person whatsoever, either incumbent or curate.

‘What is it possible for the Established Church to say to these things? The more we examine its history from the time of the Reformation to the end of the eighteenth century, the more irresistibly the painful conviction is forced upon us that it had grievously failed to do its duty. Throughout the whole of this lengthened period, a succession of men like Bedell is to be traced, who, far removed from each other in time and place, have each in their day shed a gracious light around them. But their brightness only makes the general darkness more palpable. So far as we know, neither the bishops in the House of Lords, nor the clergy in convocation, or in any other manner, separately or collectively, ever made a strenuous and persevering effort to impress on the legislature or the public the defects of the Irish Church, or apostolically laboured to correct them. In these circumstances the number of Protestants belonging to the Established Church could not reasonably be expected to increase; and had the church remained as indolent and indifferent now as it was then, in opening the minds of its own members and of their Catholic brethren, we should have wanted the most solid arguments that can now be urged against either its partial or complete suppression.’

Quart. Rev., No. cxi.

We have given this long extract, not as containing any information that will be new to the generality of our readers, (for all the facts have appeared in our own pages,) but as being a very remarkable testimony to the undeniable truth of those disgraceful facts; which cannot be too often brought under the view of the public. The Reviewer, who, we need scarcely say, is nevertheless an apologist for the Establishment, and even an advocate for the no-concession policy,—goes on to say, that at length ‘the Church of Ireland has shaken off its sloth, and is proceeding in the discharge of its various duties, in a spirit, and with an earnestness and vigour, which have already given great satisfaction to its friends, and equally disconcerted its opponents’; and that this ‘change first became remarkable about the beginning of the present century, and has been regularly advancing ever since.’ How far this agrees with the statements just before made, our readers will judge. That a great improvement has taken place in the character and conduct of the Irish clergy, we are happy to believe; but, with Professor Hoppus, we must contend, that ‘whatever has been done’ by them ‘to conciliate the attention of Roman Catholics, and to effect their conversion to the truth, has not been done in the *spirit* of the Establishment.’ ‘Every friend to Ireland,’ he proceeds to say, ‘must rejoice to know that there are very many among the clergy who are the brightest ornaments to the Christian community; who are sedulously

'devoting themselves to the spiritual good of their respective neighbourhoods, and are spending and being spent in the work.' But 'these excellent men owe their usefulness, under the Divine Blessing, to their own extraordinary exertions, *departing from the mere routine of ecclesiastical forms and rules*, being instant "in season and out of season", in carrying the Gospel through their preaching circuits, and acting in the laborious spirit of Missionaries.'

Whether such proceedings are *in the spirit*, or *against the spirit*, of the Establishment,—whether they are approved or dis-
countenanced by the rulers of the church,—whether they form any part of the ecclesiastical system which the clergy are *blindly* struggling to uphold,—is a question to which recent facts supply an emphatic answer. In the April Number of the Dublin Christian Examiner, we find an article upon the Established Church Home Mission, from which it appears that the application of the directors to receive the sanction of the Prelates, has been, in courteous but decided language, *rejected* by the Heads of the Church in conclave assembled;—rejected 'because they would not admit the first principle of the Society,—its right of labouring in a diocese without the consent of the Ordinary.' Now what says the Christian Examiner, the organ, we believe, of the evangelical section of the Irish clergy?

'We shall not attempt to discuss whether a Home Mission is necessary or expedient—whether there is not in this country a call for them, and whether, if the Church do not wish to leave their own flock, as well as the Dissenting and Roman Catholic population, to the priest and the separatist, something similar to the means employed by them should not be devised and carried into effect. Few, we believe, can be found, who will not admit that if the state of this country be seriously and honestly considered, some exertion besides that of the Parish Ministers, not to supersede but to aid parochial instruction,—is expedient. Some of the parochial and other ministers in the diocese of Dublin felt this want; they looked abroad through the length and breadth of the land, and saw the multitude wandering abroad, and perishing for lack of knowledge, and they felt that some exertion should be made to roll away the reproach from the Established Church of being alone indifferent and careless, while other denominations were active; and while they drew from the soil and its inhabitants their support, of not communicating fully to their inhabitants of their spiritual things. They resolved on girding up their loins for the work, and have been labouring, we firmly believe, with acceptance and the Divine blessing; and we also believe that the evils consequent upon inexperience and indiscretion have been far more than counterbalanced by the spiritual good they have in many instances produced, and by the manifestation of a real regard for the spiritual interests of the people, independent of their temporal connexion.

'It is not denied that such exertions were in one sense irregular, as

they were opposed to the *usual* practice of the Church, and manifested a freedom of action to which the Church was not accustomed; but irregular in a higher sense, as being contrary to a law or canon of the Church of Ireland, the directors of the Home Mission have denied them to be, and have in vain called upon their accusers to verify their assertion. But this was not enough. At the present time of reproach and schism, irregularity of any kind is to be regretted, and if possible removed; and the directors of the Mission approached the Bench of Bishops through one of their body, with whom they were officially connected, and laid before them their desire, that their labours should be sanctioned, and their proceedings authorized, by the Bench. They seemed to say—‘You have in various ways conceded that some additional exertion is necessary to extend the influence of the Established Church, and to counteract that of its enemies: we have tried a great experiment, and have found that as a Missionary body we may more than cope with the utmost resources of our adversaries, and we offer the result of our labours to you: we are unwilling that any good should be done through our instrumentality that may not be reflected upon our Church in its collective and official character: we beseech you to take us and our zeal under your directing sanction, and thereby remove the very irregularity of which you complain.’ We regret to say, that such a request, reasonable as it would seem to be, has been rejected, and the Home Mission left to its unauthorized labours, or, if need be, to quiescence.’

‘What will the Bishops do?—is a natural question. They have rejected the proposal of the Home Mission, not through a suspicion merely of the managers, for they have, with the courtesy belonging to their high station, received and conferred with the same persons as directors of the Chapel of Ease Association. They have rejected the plan proposed, and it must therefore be from some danger apprehended to the Church from the peculiar manner in which the Home Missions are carried on, or the doctrines that are inculcated. But things cannot remain as they are. The prelates who have condemned the principle of the Home Missions, must act upon that condemnation, otherwise the paper contains but the uncertified opinions of high and estimable individuals, but still only the opinions; and in order to lend them authority, the agents of the Society who appear in their respective dioceses, must be subjected to legal penalties. Are the prelates prepared for this step? Or do they shrink from the danger of exposing their authority to legal examination, or of bringing that authority into collision with the public feeling of the nineteenth century? In mercy to the consciences of many clergymen warmly attached to the Church, but who, from the state of anarchy in which the laws of the Church have been suffered to remain, know not how far that Church requires a peculiar line of conduct, and where she leaves her ministers at liberty, and whose feelings are therefore in the perplexing state of hesitation as to duty, the prelates are bound to follow up practically their opinions, and to justify themselves to the Church and the world, by proving that the men whose humble petition to be taken under the sanction and authority of the

Church and its governors they rejected, are unworthy of the boon, by their systematic violation of the recognized laws of the Constitution. —Again, the prelates, by their condemnation, have endeavoured to put down the Home Mission. Are they prepared to establish one of their own? Do they not perceive that the continuance of the ministrations of the Home Mission so long, renders the existence of one essential to the well-being of the Church, unless the prelates are willing to hand over a large proportion of the population to dissent? What has not been publicly censured or condemned, seems to be sanctioned; and the work of the Mission has been going on for so long a time, that it has taken hold of the people: and while, if carried on, it would bind them doubly to the Establishment, if rudely rent and scattered, it must inevitably relax their attachment to the Church. The prelates are bound to supply the spiritual destitution of the people, which has been now prominently brought before them; and this they can efficiently do, only by the gratuitous services of their Clergy: let them do it, and they and the public will soon see where the zeal for immortal souls resides, and the ardent desire to spend and be spent for the Saviour.

As to the Home Mission, their course, always difficult, demands at present peculiar consideration. Many apparent friends to their work will now justify opposition by the decision of the Bishops; many real friends will hesitate at open disobedience to the official rescript of their lawful and acknowledged superiors. To some it will be a reason, to others it will be an excuse, for coldness, withdrawal, or opposition. Henceforth, they go forth with something very like the brand of schism upon their ministrations, and they must be prepared to bear the censure of the formalist, the coldness of the timid, and the open opposition of the worldling. But are they to yield, and to retire from the field? It is not their fault that their labours have not been rendered as regular as formality itself could wish:—not upon them must fall the blame; with them largely will remain the regret. If they have reason to believe, and they have examined the subject, that the laws of the Church are not distinctly pointed at their labours, they must then consider the expressed opinions of the prelates but as the sentiments of so many highly valuable individuals, but not as imperative or conclusive. The effect of that opinion must be, to induce a re-examination of the ground of their actings, and a careful revision of their plans. It should induce caution in proving their fealty to their Church, by the uniform use of her formularies of prayer, and the carefully abstaining from interfering with her localized ministrations. And now that the voice of opposition has been heard from high places, we deem that the Directors of the Home Mission must, more than ever, seek to justify their conduct by giving to their labours, as much as possible, the character of a Pastoral Aid Society,—seeking either that their route shall lie in friendly districts, or at least extending them principally to those tracts of the country where there is a comparative famine of the Word. When the Gospel is preached in populous towns or villages, the ministration of the Home Mission cannot be necessary, except to mark the cordial co-operation of the Pastors: but we could point out districts where the Gospel is never

heard, glens and bogs teeming with population, as ignorant as the unbaptized heathen ; and thither we would wish the Home Mission to direct their steps, where, we can assure them, the indifferent or the worldly clergyman will never pursue their steps, but where the grace of the living God, by their instrumentality, may convert the howling wilderness into the garden of the Lord. To retire from their labours now, would be to confess that they had hitherto acted schismatically : but this is a small thing ; it would be to loose altogether the relaxed attachment to the Established Church, which they were beginning to tighten, and, by making an opening which Dissent and Popery would not fail to fill, to produce incalculable mischief to the Church they love.'

The Church, the Established Church ! what a spell does that phrase throw over the understandings of good men ! As if that could be the Church of God, or could have any legitimate relation to it, which throws the greatest obstacles in the way of the faithful discharge of the ministry of the Gospel ! Of all the verbal fallacies that have exerted a pernicious influence on the minds of men, that which gives the name of the Church to the great *Anti-Church*, to that worldly system called the Establishment, is the most baneful. An Establishment it is ; a political establishment of political clergy for political objects ; but an Established Church is a phrase without propriety. A church is 'a congregation of faithful men,' established on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ himself being the chief corner stone ; but an Establishment is not a congregation, but a system of political government, established by man, in which the congregation, the people, and specifically the faithful, have no part or concern. A church is a portion of the body of Christ : an Establishment is a system of worldly policy, a state engine, a monopoly of secular privileges, a thing identified with that world from which the Church is called and commanded to be separate.

In our February Number, we took occasion to give a list of pious and exemplary clergymen in this country, who have recently found themselves compelled by a sense of duty to come out from the Establishment, upon grounds very similar to those which led the Nonconformists to resign their livings and to separate from the impure communion of the Stuart Church. We have now before us the Reasons which have led a beneficed clergyman of the Irish Church to retire from all connexion with a system, to the Anti-Christian character of which his eyes have been slowly opened. Unlike many of his brethren, who have found themselves pinched in their consciences chiefly by some particular expressions in the offices, or some acknowledged abuses in the discipline of the Church, Mr. Hargrove frankly admits, that, in his view, 'corruptions and abuses in the Church of God are not a sufficient ground of separation,' and that

these are not the ground of his separation from the Establishment. That which has most pressed upon his mind is, 'the worldliness of the Establishment,' the secular nature of the entire system; a system characterized by its worldliness almost in every aspect in which it may be viewed; a system loving the world and the things of the world; a system on terms of intimacy and friendship with the world; honoured, patronized, and endowed by it.'

'From this consideration, this identity of the church and the world—for wherever I saw the Established Church, there did I see the world: and every where in the Scriptures do I see the church a separation from the world; from this consideration, it was obvious to me that something was grievously wrong. At first I thought—I fondly hoped, that discipline might rectify what was wrong; but I never saw the favoured spot where discipline had rectified it, and I now believe that the evil is quite beyond the power of discipline; for the true place of discipline is the church, the "congregation of faithful men," among whom error may have crept in; but the Establishment is quite the reverse of this. Here the congregations are of worldly men, among whom comparatively very few, oftentimes none, are faithful; and I see not how discipline can be enforced here. She will call those faithful men, and treat them as such, who never gave one particle of evidence of their conversion to God; her members she recognizes, not by the evidence of their conversion, but by their having passed under certain rites of the church; and, therefore, the population of whole parochial districts are acknowledged by her as members, among whom there may be few, if any, evidencing that they are children of God. This is all bound up in the system, and therefore I believe that the evil is beyond the power of discipline, which is for the church and not for a worldly association; it would involve the few faithful, in obedience to God, coming out from the body of the unfaithful; and it is for this only that I plead.'

A little further on, he thus strikes at the root of the system.

'The source of it all is, I believe, the intimate union between the Church and State, between the body of Christ and the worldly power; that the church should submit to be established by the power and authority of man. This is, I believe, the capital error, which intrudes into all the arrangements of the Church, which affects the whole body, which flows into every extremity. I find the influence of this unnatural union every where: it seems to me effectually to prevent any valid reform,—to forbid any effective discipline. The poor church has thrown herself into the arms of the state, and now she lies at its mercy. Oh, how unnatural a position! What one word in the New Testament—the directory of the saints in this dispensation—countenances such a position? She has given her headship, at least her earthly headship, (that I misrepresent her not,) to the King; the Romanists, in this more consistent, give it to an ecclesiastical head. Now the King, as her head, appoints her bishops; but the King's appoint-

ment, as we know, is the act of his minister. The minister may be an infidel in principle, a profligate in practice—one or both; or take a more favourable, and probably the more common case, he may be a mere worldly person,—one viewing the ecclesiastical establishment merely as a state appendage, a kind of political instrument to subserve his purposes; yet to him it belongeth, and to him only, to nominate the bishops of the church. I am well aware that neither king nor minister may consecrate to the episcopal office, this can alone be done by episcopal hands; but none other can be consecrated but the nominee of the king or his minister; their province it is, according to the constitution of the Established Church, to determine who are to be her ecclesiastical rulers. Is not this the living to the dead? But the bishop, being appointed by the state, becomes a peer; for not only for his ecclesiastical office, but for rank also, is he a debtor to the same worldly source. He becomes a peer, and his vote is of value; and to what miserable work does not this lead! The various underhand influences and interests have been often exposed—I need not dwell upon the subject; I have no pleasure in it. But I know the sad result, that instead of a holy band of self-denying men, taking the oversight of the church, not for filthy lucre, but with a deep sense of the value of souls, and a holy zeal for the glory of Jesus, we have—what? Alas! we have ecclesiastical peers and politicians, living in lordly splendour, and in the very heart and pride of the world, that rejected and crucified the Lord of Life. I may be reminded of the illustrious names connected with our episcopacy; truly can I say, that I feel no desire to deny or to detract one jot or tittle from the value of the holy men of God who have sat on the episcopal bench in these countries, or any that may yet have their place there. I war not with the men, but with the system; and wherever it is due, most cheerfully shall I pay my homage. But admitting all this to the fullest extent, still I cannot see that it makes in favour of the system. No believer of sound mind will argue in favour of the episcopacy being in the hands of the minister of the state, because God is pleased in His overruling providence, in opposition to all the evil, to bring in good; and even in the most favoured cases which may be adduced, what pressure is there upon the souls' health and happiness from the weight so heavily and unscripturally imposed of so much of this present evil world!

The bishop having received his appointment from the minister, the leaven runs through his whole diocese; his anxiety will be to appoint men of his own mind and principle; and thus we know how in times past the establishment in this country was overrun with men of careless life and defective principle; and that the awakening which has partially taken place in latter times, has been almost exclusively through the instrumentality of the inferior clergy, and not only without the fostering care, but in general in the face of the direct opposition of the prelacy—the Spirit thus showing that for any good that has arisen, we are in no wise indebted to the system, but to His own sovereign agency, bearing with the evil, and bringing in good out of, and contrary to, the appointed order of the establishment. I speak truths known to all, however they may be explained, palliated, or excused; and I say that this is the necessary result of the unnatural union be-

tween the church and the state, and the no less unnatural appointment of her ecclesiastical rulers.

‘ Thus do we see some of the effects of the system. The King, the head of the state, the head of the church also, and appointing to her rulers and overseers, according to the partiality or political necessity of his ministers, and conferring on those so appointed lordly wealth and dignity. We advance another step ; and we find the King, the same head of worldly and spiritual power, prohibiting the clergy, without his permission, to meet and settle what belongs to the church “ concerning the injunctions, canons, and other constitutions thereto belonging.” Here we have the controlling influence of the State, by which the Church is tied down to that measure of light possessed by the framers of her constitution, at least without the King’s permission,—that is, without his ministers think well of it ; without this no reformation can proceed. And consistently with this, not long since, when some ministers in the Establishment did grievously groan under the galling enactments of the state, what did they do ? To stand out as the body of Christ in holy separation from the evil thralldom they would not,—to avert the abuses they could not ; but they did just what they could do in the position they occupied,—they petitioned the King that he would rectify the evil, or give them liberty to do so. Should not a people “ seek unto their God ! But no, the poor church will not, in her difficulties, seek unto God. She will not, in His strength, arise to put away the evil from her, without first appealing to the state, and awaiting its good pleasure. In truth, she is but a dependent upon the state, and must just take from it what it may be its humour to give,—the bishops that it gives, and the bishoprics that it takes ; whatever her legislators, the O’Connells, Humes, “ et hoc omne genus ” may think fit to award her. At one time so many bishoprics off, at another time so many parishes—no, her legislators differed, and the parishes are spared a little longer. Oh, how melancholy is this ! how very melancholy, that God’s dear children should submit to such a system, so dishonouring to our dear Lord, that the heart of all the men of God is not bowed, even as the heart of one man, to arise and shake off this abomination !

But this is not all, though it be far too much : the Church is not only dependent for her bishops, her rank, and for the reform of abuses, but for her discipline and provision also upon the State.

* * * * *

‘ Then as to her provision, whence does this arise ? is it the church providing for its own wants ? No, in truth ; except in this sense, as the kingdom is the church. Here again we find her a poor dependent upon the state. The state endows her ; and that it may do so, it goes to the cancelled Jewish legislation for the law of tithe—it Judaizes ; and in proof that this provision is merely the bequest of the state, and held at its good pleasure, we find at one time fifteen per cent. taken off the income of the clergy ; at another time twenty-five is spoken of, according to the good will and pleasure of her political legislators, to which she must bow down in subserviency. It is not the lessening of income to which I refer, or for which I care, but it is

that men of God should bow down to such unhallowed defilement; that she who should be as the bride of Christ making ready for her Lord and Husband,—that she should be the thing waiting on the world for her ministry and discipline, her rank, her support, her every thing.'

This worldliness, the result, for the most part, of *the union between the Church and the State*, Mr. Hargrove proceeds to say, meets us every where.

'I see it in the King's headship of the church; I see it in his appointment of her bishops, and many ministers; I see it in his power to prevent the convocation from meeting, and to overrule their deliberations when met, and thus effectually to impede the progress toward reformation; I see it in the absence of all discipline, or rather of the *exercise* of it; and in the character of the discipline she has; her excommunication, a thing of worldly disabilities, pains, and penalties; I see in it the wretched sale and traffic of church preferment; I see it in the titles, and worldly rank and standing of the church; I see it in her provision, wrung by the power of the law, from the unwilling hearts of those who are opposed to her in principle—most legally, to be sure, but as surely most contrary to the doctrine of the apostles. She is, in truth, "overlaid" by the state; every where, and in every thing, I see its controlling power—she cannot stand without the state, or go without the state, or sit at ease without the permission of the state. All born within the limits of the state are treated as Christians—Christians, not by right of conversion to Christ, but by right of citizenship and form, without conversion: for this the state provides, and will not suffer it to be otherwise, except in certain instances specified in the book of canons, among which are the impugning the rites, ceremonies, and government of the church, and this is visited with excommunication, "*ipso facto*." The members of the church, and the subjects of the state, are thoroughly identified; there is no principle of selection, but one of universal union—not union of believers, but union of all sorts within the state. The King requires the assent of "all his subjects" to the thirty-nine articles, and prohibits the least difference therefrom; all the formularies of the church proceed on the assumption—the unfounded assumption—of her members being believers; and it is the very boast of the church, according to one of her most learned and pious sons, (Bishop Beveridge,) that "she is, by the blessing of God, of the same extent with the kingdom in which we live."—(*Sermon IV., on the Nature of the Christian Church*.) Here is the great evil—the state must have a national religion, to this she assents, and for this she puts an outward form in the place of the Spirit's work, and then will deceive herself and others, by assuming as believers all who pass under this form; she attributes to them a profession which they make not, she gives them a name which they esteem not, and then she deals out to them ordinances which they understand not—the bread, the dishonoured bread of the children. Ah, she is married to the state, and hence the evil! There is an unholy, an unhappy alliance contracted; she who should be the King's wife,

awaiting the day of her Lord's coming in sorrowing separation from a world of evil, is united to that very evil world, the King's enemy; and the issue, alas! is a progeny of wordlings, with a Christian name, and little else. Is this the church of God? Truly, if she be so marred and deformed is she, that I cannot discover the likeness. I well know that there is a precious seed still mixed up with the confusion; but wherefore is it so? I know not how else to account for it, but by the slowness to get rid of old opinions and impressions, even as I find in Peter at Antioch; and again, the power of names and systems on the mind, and the various near interests involved in separation; but whatever the cause be, this, at least, do I know, that the fact is most melancholy in contemplation, as it is most grievous in result: it is the very opposite of what I see concerning the church in the New Testament; and therefore, in faithfulness to my Lord, and in subjection to his word, do I feel myself called upon to bear the strongest protest that it is in my power to bear, and that is by distinct separation from this worldly assemblage, this ecclesiastico-political body, the Established Church.

This is language worthy of a faithful, simple-minded minister of Christ; and though it is but the energetic statement of truths for which we have all our life been contending, we feel as if they came to us with new unction and authority as thus boldly and uncompromisingly proclaimed by one who has evidently not learned them of man, but been taught them by the Spirit of God. The fervent, primitive piety which glows in these pages must, one would think, melt the heart of the angriest controvertist. And the Author's 'reasons,' founded as they are upon broad Scriptural principles, and undeniable facts, and urged with equal force of reasoning and persuasiveness of manner, cannot fail, we should think, to produce a powerful impression.

After stating his primary reason for separating from the Establishment, Mr. Hargrove proceeds to detail the objections arising from the evils tolerated and countenanced by the Church;—her assertion of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration,—the indiscriminate and compulsory use of the burial service—the 'awful 'trifling with God's Spirit' in the Ordination service—her judaizing notion of a successional ministry to which the energy of the Spirit is to be restricted, but which 'the Lord, in his gracious 'dealings, is daily contradicting.' 'The Established Church,' it is remarked, '*will not* recognize the ministry of the Spirit 'without episcopal ordination, and she *will* recognize episcopal 'ordination without the ministry of the Spirit. In this,' adds Mr. Hargrove, 'I believe the Establishment sanctions evil, and 'I must cease from it.' After urging these several grounds of nonconformity, he finally proceeds to notice some of the principles and reasonings which for a long time weighed with his own mind, in keeping him in the Establishment, and which weigh, as he believes, with many who still cling to the corrupt system.

No one could have written these pages, who had not been long and painfully exercised with the conflicting considerations which are here placed before the reader. In the following paragraphs, he combats, with a godly sincerity that spurns at all mean and base calculations of worldly expediency, one of the most specious pleas—the forlorn-hope argument—for continuing in the Establishment.

‘ But, say some, and many a one, what shall we do?—The Establishment, we know, has its imperfections: we see, we feel the evil in it; but we see nothing better. Do you see the evil?—then cease from it: let that be your first step; God will shew you the next when you have taken that. Then it will be time enough. What right have you expect that God will shew you duty afar off, when you neglect that which is at hand? This would be a premium to disobedience. And for one to see evil, and submit to it, without an effort to forsake it, this is just to hinder the progress of light; it is to bring his own soul into a dark and hardened state, and infallibly would do so but for the preventing grace of God. If, then, any one’s conscience tells him that the system he is sanctioning sanctions evil, I readily tell him where he will get better—simply, by ceasing from the evil. This is God’s will, and obedience to it is blessing; and this is my answer to the apologists for evil, who tell us that all is Babylon, and that we cannot better ourselves by changing—that we are only changing from one to another form of evil, from one street of the unclean city to another.

‘ I say it is not God’s way to give his people a choice of evils, but a cessation from them; and I say that he never left his people under the power of moral evil, for which he did not make a way to escape. Then in whatever church or communion you may be, as you profess obedience to the Lord, cease from the evil; before you complain of all being in Babylon, and the want of the Spirit, cease to grieve and hinder the Spirit by your disobedience. When you have acted on the light and help that God has given us, and when it fails you, then have you ground to look for more; but while you neglect this it is delusion, and not light, that you may expect—the meteor glare that shines to lead astray. Oh! there is more intimate connexion than we generally suspect between our honouring God’s truth, and our being preserved in rectitude of life and principle; and for my own part, I confess that I see no safety amid the delusions on the right hand and on the left, but in the Word, which is God’s truth, which is the testimony of the Spirit. Here I find a rest, a foundation for my soul; but where else to look for it, I know not. Now, in the Established Church, I cannot thus live and rest simply upon the Word; for she allows of evil, both in principle and practice, contradictory to the word, and further binds it on her members, who will be bound by her; and if they will not, they should cease to be her members. She allows no liberty to her members. As much liberty as they please will she give them in pursuing their worldly course; but in things even of avowedly little moment, and which yet may gall a tender conscience, uniformity, not liberty, is her word. God gives liberty to his dear children; but with

the Established Church uniformity in things external, though it be to the harassing of the weak, and nourishing the seed of discontent within her. Now, I say that a faithful disciple, who feels himself galled and harassed by the recurrence of evil in ministration, and who has not liberty to cease from this in the Establishment, should come out and be separate from her communion. He should do so, for he has no other remedy; and moreover, should he cease from every communion upon earth which sanctions evil, for this is hindering the disciple's liberty and joy in the Lord, and hindering the manifestation of his Lord's grace. Let the disciple follow his Lord in faith, and he will guide him to a resting place. Let him, if indeed he cannot see his way, go forth like Abraham of old, "not knowing whither he went:" better to be a wanderer, than find a resting place in evil. But he need not be a wanderer. Faith honours God, and God ever honours faith; and he will lead his obedient people into a resting place. Their own self-will and disobedience only is it, I do believe, that hinders any of them from finding it. But it seems one of Satan's devices at this day to lead some to honour the church more than the church's Lord; and therefore will they rather do what they *can* in their system, than what they *should* out of it: and hence the laboured excuses to justify and commend what I do believe is unjustifiable. To me is it a sufficient evidence of falsity of principle, the recommending one still to abide where his conscience is hurt or offended. Our object should be the maintenance of a conscience void of offence towards God and man. This I cannot have in the Establishment. How others, whose consciences have been exercised, can, I know not—but I judge not. I must leave it—I would that others were under the same necessity.

But again, the question will be asked, Whither will you go—to which of the many sects of the day will you join yourself? I reply to none of them. I have not left one to join another. They are all, I fear, more or less sectarian, and sectarianism I do hate. I of Paul, and I of Apollos—I of the Church of England, and I of the Church of Scotland, and I an Independent, and so on, each jealous of its own little interests—the Church interest with one, the Dissenting interest with another, all desirous to make the Lord the leader of their little sect, rather than the head of his body, the church. Now, will I have nothing to do, God strengthening me, with this poor sectarianism: I desire to be simply, in all its foolishness, a member of the Church of God, and to receive as my brethren the true and holy believers of every denomination, to be one with the Lord's people wherever I find them meeting together in his name, in separation from the world, in obedience to the Word, acknowledging the Spirit wherever he is pleased to manifest his grace, and refusing to acknowledge all unfounded pretensions, whether of lifeless formality or unholy delusion. With such do I desire to cast in my lot, wherever I see God's children gathered together, without any opening to the world—without any closing to the saints—receiving all, even the weakest, that receive Jesus—receiving none other. Such I believe was the church in the Apostolic times—such do I believe it should now be, and such it may be, and to such will I gladly join myself wherever I find them in this present evil world.

‘ Another word, not without its weight in keeping God’s children mixed where they should not be in the worldly system of the national establishment, is the charge of schism so generally imputed to those who separate from her communion, and connected with what is represented as the devil’s motto, “Divide and conquer.” Now, as to schism, rending the body of Christ, I quite feel that it is a very serious offence in God’s sight, and God forbid that I should defend or palliate it; but utterly do I fling from me the charge as applying to those leaving the national establishment: it may, indeed, be schism as regards the Established Church, and from this charge I feel no anxiety to recede; but it is not schism, I do feel thoroughly persuaded, as regards the Church of God. This would be a grievous offence, one which every believer should deprecate. I very readily acknowledge that it is not allowable to separate from the Church of God even on account of corruptions or *un-scriptural* usages; separate from the evil wherever it be—cease to partake of it at *whatever cost*, but do not separate from the Church of God, still abide with her, stand by her, help her in her extremity; God loves her amid all her infirmity, and does not sanction separation from her, nor ever give it as the remedy for her evil; but then all this assumes that the Established Church is the Church of God, and this to me is mere groundless assumption. I utterly deny it. What! a worldly association where nineteen-twentieths, in many cases double and treble the number, are worldly, unconverted men—a worldly association united to the state, and in the acknowledgment of her friends “overlaid by the state,”—a worldly association, whose spiritual rulers are called into office at the beck of the King’s minister—this the Church of God! this the body of Christ! He may believe it who *will*—I *cannot*; and it is because I cannot that I separate from her, for it is not on account of certain *un-scriptural* usages that I leave her communion. No, I acknowledge that this would be insufficient ground; but it is because of her *anti-scriptural* standing and practice—and this proves to me her true character; it shews me that she is indeed the schismatic; she is not in the position of a true church—if she was, I could bear with her even in her corruptions and abuses.—The character of the true church, I believe, however corrupt, is still separation from the world, the calling out of it, the witness against its evil, however feeble and infirm her testimony may be; but this she cannot be while she is its pensioned dependent: just, then, as she becomes identified with the world, does she lose her distinctive character—does she fall from her standing as the Church of God.’

After disposing of some other sophistical pleas, Mr. Hargrove adverts to that which is drawn from the good that is done in the Church. But ‘observe,’ he says, ‘that this good is just in proportion to the irregularity of the clergy, to *their unfaithfulness to the laws and ordinances of their Church*, shewing us that ‘in no wise to the system are they indebted.’

‘Look among the High Church party, as they are called, and, as I believe, the more consistent churchmen, and what do you find there? Look to the cathedrals and episcopal palaces of the land, where orthodoxy

may be supposed to dwell, and the principles of the Established Church understood, and what marks of God's favour do you find there? Then look to the more irregular but faithful ministers of God in the Establishment, who, forgetting the claims of their church, or probably never very accurately weighing them, and feeling the claims of perishing souls, and the glory of their Lord and Master, set their hand to the plough, and go forth in the name of Jesus. Church, Meeting, or School House, liturgical or extemporaneous prayer, are all one to them: the canonically prescribed ecclesiastical habits, together with other canonical prescriptions, they little regard. I believe that they have one great object in view; and in this they seem to be acknowledged very much in proportion as they throw off the shackles of their church, and work in liberty—as they know nothing of rubrics or canons, or the territorial claims of parish ministers or diocesan bishops—Is it not so? Let the Home Mission and many an active hard-working minister in his parish furnish the reply, most faithful servants of God, most unfaithful sons of the Church. But how are they looked upon by their more regular brethren of the church? A prophet of their own places them in this comfortable dilemma, as either deficient in “understanding, or common honesty.”

Once more—for we have already exceeded all due limits—it is said, ‘Do not leave the Church *now*,—now in the time of her ‘persecution, and in the prospect of her reformation:’ Mr. Hargrove replies:—

‘If I saw her as the body of Christ, with ever so many infirmities suffering for His name, then would I not forsake her, but cling to her closer than to my own existence; but, in truth, I cannot see her so. I see her in her worldly standing, her wealth, and dignity, and pretension, exciting the hatred and the covetousness of the world, and calling down the opposition, and in some cases it may be the envy of hostile systems; I see her persecuted on account of her tithes, her rich and lordly bishoprics, her political power, and not for godliness. Then as to reformation, I confess I have no confidence in any thing of the kind—it can be but the patching up of a thing evil in itself while she is established by the state, and thus, as I believe, in an unscriptural position, necessarily identified with the world, while she is moreover sectarian in her requirements, demanding terms of communion which God does not demand of his people, narrowing what his word hath left open. While these evils exist, I do not value what reformation can effect. The worldly association may indeed be made a little less worldly, and some evils may, in a measure, be rectified; but if truly reformed, she ceases to be what she now is, a worldly establishment—she comes into a new position of separation from the world to which she is now united, and union with the saints from whom she is now separate; and when truly reformed I shall have but a little step to take (if any), to enrol myself again in her ranks; but till then, I must not suffer myself to linger in allegiance to my Master—I am not to stand waiting in the commission of what I believe to be evil, and I

know to be hurtful to souls. No; I must now cease from the evil—now while I may. This is duty, and not passively to wait till the evil cease from me.'

Mr. Hargrove expresses doubt whether there be 'a truly godly minister in the Established Church, *who has examined into the subject*, without having his mind shaken on it.

'There may be many a one who has examined, now confirmed enough; because, whenever we slight any truth given to us, the progress is to insensibility on that given truth—there the Spirit is grieved; and thus do we find many of the clergy sitting comparatively easy under errors now, which but a few years hence they saw clear enough in their true character, and which then were galling enough to them; and this, I believe, is also at the root of the fearful high-churchism of some of the evangelical clergy in England, which, I believe, is creeping into this country also.'

Whatever explanation may be given of the fact, this high-churchism of the evangelical party affords one of the most unequivocal proofs of the secularizing influence of the Establishment, and one of the most certain indications of its approaching and inevitable doom. High-church principles cannot stand before the Bible; and the system which generates them, and on which they inhere, must share the fate of the Man of Sin, whom the Lord will destroy with the breath of his mouth and the brightness of his coming.

We shall be curious to see what answer is given to Mr. Hargrove's Reasons for retiring from the corrupt Establishment mis-called the Church of Ireland. It behoves every friend to Scriptural Christianity to assist in giving them the widest possible circulation.

NOTICES.

Art. VI. *The Girl's Week-Day Book*. 12mo, pp. 240. London: (Religious Tract Society).

THE eye of an experienced reader, when he first takes up a new book, immediately, and almost involuntarily, seeks the name of the publisher; for, even in our times, there are a few publishers whose names are a sort of a guarantee, that the works they issue are worth reading. This may be presumed to be the case pre-eminently with the publications of the Religious Tract Society; and we might, therefore, safely infer that "*The Girl's Week-Day Book*" is a good work. On glancing, moreover, at the table of contents, we find the topics are very interesting to young readers; and we select, as a specimen, the following excellent advice.

CANVAS WORK.

'Accustom yourself to correct a mistake as soon as you perceive it. If it be a *small* mistake, do not think it too inconsiderable to be worth notice. It may be productive of serious injury to yourself, or of lead-

ing others into error. If it be a great mistake into which you have fallen, do not be discouraged in attempting to correct it. There is no labour too great to encounter in the attainment of truth, and no state of ignorance or error is hopeless, while there is a humble desire to be set right. I have sometimes been interested in observing young ladies employed on canvas work, which I have thought a useful employment, from the mere circumstance of its accustoming them to habits of exactness in counting and calculating. But suppose the young needlewoman has inadvertently set a stitch one thread wrong. Presently the work is observed to look a little awry, and a mistake is suspected; but she is unwilling to give herself the trouble of counting back, or she counts back carelessly, and so overlooks the mistake, and persuades herself that it does not exist. She goes on again, but finds that every row, or every round, the mischief is aggravated, the pattern cannot be made to fit and match, do what she will; at last she detects the wrong-set stitch, which is the origin of all the mischief, but then she has done so much since, that it would be quite a pity to undo it all. "No, little girl, it is the only thing you can do; all your attempts to skip a thread here, and patch a stitch there, will never succeed, every additional stitch you set only adds to what must be undone at last, or your work will be for ever disfigured." One little girl convinced of this humbling truth, with a grave countenance and a persevering effort, sets to work, unpicks and unpicks, till she comes to the original error. One sigh perhaps escapes over the naked canvas, then with alacrity and care she again begins filling up, taught by experience to avoid mistakes in future, or to correct them as soon as perceived, and encouraged at the correct and satisfactory progress of her work when conducted on right principles. Another little workwoman suffers her temper to be irritated, she pettishly drags out the worsted, and breaks or draws aside the threads of the canvas, by which her labour is increased, and perhaps her work completely spoiled. A third, in spite of all remonstrances, persists in leaving the mistake uncorrected, flattering herself that it will never be seen; but there it is, as long as the rug, or mat, or sampler, is in existence,—a disgraceful monument of the heedlessness and perverseness of the worker. It is thus, my young friends, with all our errors, whether of sentiment or conduct. It is of no use to slur over what is wrong, and think that it does not much signify; or to resent the intimations of friends, and stifle the voice of conscience, when they would reprove our errors. The only way to safety, honour and satisfaction, is to trace the evil to its very root, and cut it up, however painful and humbling the task may be: then go on in a different course, and with renewed circumspection.' pp. 163—165.

A more entertaining extract might have been taken—for instance, the setting of the filbert nuts,—but our object is, to excite just enough of curiosity to induce purchase of the volume, for the sake of our young friends. It is handsomely printed, embellished with neat engravings, cheap in price, and altogether a pretty work. We believe that it has been furnished by the ready and useful pen of the author of "Cottage Comforts," Mrs. Copley, of Oxford.

Art. VII. *The Church ; a Manual intended as a Present to Candidates for Christian Fellowship.* By John Morison, D.D. 32mo. London, 1836.

THIS is another of the series of useful miniature manuals for which the religious public are indebted to the pastoral zeal and practical good sense of Dr. Morison. In the present work, the importance of Church-fellowship,—the nature and constitution of a Christian Church,—and the several duties arising out of the relation,—are briefly but impressively stated ; and the Manual cannot fail to be very useful to young disciples, or converts newly awakened to a sense of their spiritual wants. We perceive that Dr. Morison has just published another little tract, entitled, “The Immutability of Christ” being a funeral discourse on the occasion of the death of one of his flock ; an excellent and exemplary woman.

Art. VIII. *The Antiquities of Athens*, measured and delineated by James Stuart, F.R.S. and F.S.A., and Nicholas Revett, Painters and Architects. Plates. Imperial Folio.

WE introduce to our readers a brief notice of the republication of this invaluable work, which is now appearing in Parts at five shillings each, intended to enable the student to obtain a series of originals of paramount authority in Grecian architecture : a critique on the merits of this national undertaking would be out of date, as its character has been long acknowledged both at home and abroad.

Several new plates are in progress for this edition : three, the Theseus, the Ilissus, and the Horse's Head, (given in two positions,) engraved from drawings by Sir F. L. Chantrey, are very fine : these, with the Plate in Vol. II, Chapter I, Pl. XXIX, which has never yet been engraved, although described in the work, will be published separately from the regular series of the work, for those who already possess the Athenian Antiquities. The subjects of that Plate, copied from M. J. Carrey's Drawings, which were taken in 1683, (four years before the bombardment of Athens by the Venetians, under Morosini, when the explosion of the Turkish powder-magazine in the Port Lenon effected such lamented devastation in that building,) consist of two Metopes, one containing the representation of the celebrated wooden figure of Minerva, asserted to have fallen from heaven, and in honour of which, according to the opinions of many learned commentators, the Panathenaic Solemnities were observed : as there were several similar ancient figures, the Palladium of Troy, Diana of Ephesus, &c., this is a subject of very great interest to the classic scholar.

The First Volume of this Work contains, 1. The Doric Portico at Athens. 2. The Ionic Temple on the Ilissus, totally destroyed since this Work was published. 3. The Temple of the Winds. 4. The Choragic Monument of Lysicrates. 5. The Temple of Jupiter Olympius. This volume is illustrated by 84 engravings.

The Second Volume contains, 1. The Parthenon. 2. The Erechtheum, Temple of Minerva Polias, &c. 3. The Theatre of Bacchus.

4. The Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus. 5. The Propylea. 86 engravings.

The Third Volume contains, 1. The Temple of Theseus. 2. The Temple of Jupiter Olympius. 3. The Arch of Theseus. 4. The Aqueduct of Hadrian. 5. The Monument of Phylopappus. 6. The Doric Temple at Corinth. 7. The Stadium, Panathenaicum, and Bridge over the Ilissus. 8. The Areopagus. 9. The Incantada. 10. Delos. 11. Ionic Colonnade. 12. Various Antiquities. 103 engravings.

The Fourth Volume contains, 1. The Amphitheatre at Pola. 2. The Temple of Rome and Augustus. 3. The Arch of the Sergii. 4. Sculpture of the Parthenon. 5. Architectural Details of various Edifices. 6. Fragments collected in the Greek Islands. Total in this volume, 104 engravings.

ART. IX. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

In the Press, to be ready for publication early in May, *Lectures on Divine Sovereignty, Election, the Atonement, Justification, and Regeneration.* 1 vol. 8vo. By George Payne, LL.D., Exeter.

The work is not designed for professional readers exclusively. The author has studied to adapt it for the closet of the thoughtful private Christian, as well as for the study of the junior members of the sacred office.

It is in contemplation to publish very shortly *The Posthumous Works of the late William Godwin*, including an Autobiography, Correspondence, &c. The whole edited, at Mr. Godwin's express desire, by his daughter, Mrs. Shelly.

In the Press, *A Collected Edition of the Poetical Works of Mr. James Montgomery*, Author of "*The World before the Flood*," "*The Pelican Island*," &c. 3 vols. small 8vo.

In the Press, *The Statesman.* By Henry Taylor, Esq., Author of "*Philip van Artevelde*."

In the Press, *An Abridgment of Dr. Butler's Ancient and Modern Geography.* By Miss M. Cunningham.

In the Press, *A Third and Concluding Volume of Sharon Turner's Sacred History of the World.*

In the Press, *On Female Improvement.* By Mrs. John Sandford, Authoress of "*Woman in her Social and Domestic Character*."

In the Press, *Essays on the Principles of Charitable Institutions; being an Attempt to ascertain what are the Plans best adapted to improve the Physical and Moral Condition of the Lower Orders in England.*

In the Press, *De Wyrhale; a Tale of Dean Forest.* By P. J. Ducarel, Esq., Author of a "*Paraphrase on the Psalms*." Illustrated by Wood-cuts.

In the Press, *The Gossip's Week*. By the Author of "*Slight Reminiscences of the Rhine*."

In the Press, *Researches, Antediluvian, Patriarchal, and Historical*. By Thomas Clarkson, M.A., Author of the "*History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*," &c., &c.

In the Press, *The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon*. By T. H. Lister, Esq., Author of "*Granby*," &c. 3 vols. 8vo. With Portrait.

In the Press, *The Life of Edward the Black Prince*. By G. P. R. James, Esq., Author of "*Richelieu*," "*Darnley*," "*Life of Richelieu*," &c., &c.

In the Press, *The Life and Times of William III. King of England, and Stadtholder of Holland*. By the Hon. Arthur Trevor, M.P., M.A., F.A.S., &c. Second and concluding volume. Just ready.

In the Press, and shortly will be published, in 3 Cabinet vols. *Select Sermons by the Elder Divines*. Secker, Tillotson, Atterbury, Jeremy Taylor, Horsley, Samuel Clarke, Leighton, Hall, South, Farindon, Beveridge, Wesley, Skelton, Howe, Ridley, Paley, Sherlock, Barrow, Donne, Sanderson, Watts, Owen, Ogden, Hammond. Being choice Specimens of Sermon Literature in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

ART. X. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Life and Character of John Howe, M.A.; with a Critical Estimate of his Writings. By Henry Rogers. With a Portrait, and outline Engravings of Great Torrington Church, Devon; and Antrim Castle, Ireland. 8vo. 12s.

HISTORY.

History of the English Episcopacy, from the Period of the Long Parliament to the Act of Uniformity; with Sketches of the Religious Parties of the Time, and a Review of Ecclesiastical Affairs in England from the Period of the Reformation. By the Rev. Thomas Lathbury, M.A. 8vo. 12s.

The Churches of Rome and England compared in their Declared Doctrines and Practices; wherein is shewn the Disagreement of the Two Churches on many of the Fundamental Articles of Christianity. By Richard Mant, D.D., M.R.I.A., Lord Bishop of Down and Connor. 6d.

The Family History of England. By the Rev. G. R. Gleig, M.A. With nu-

merous Illustrations, Vol. I. fcap 8vo, 6s 6d.

THEOLOGY.

The Christian Atonement; Its Basis, Nature, and Bearings; or, the Principle of Substitution Illustrated, as Applied in the Redemption of Man. (The Third Series of the Congregational Lecture.) With Notes and Illustrations. By the Rev. Joseph Gilbert. 8vo, 10s. 6d.

The Scope of Piety; or the Christian doing all things to the glory of God. By T. Q. Stow. 12mo, 5s. 6d., cloth.

The Remains, Religious and Literary, of Samuel Drew, A.M.: comprising Sermons, Controversial Pieces, Essays and Letters, Edited by his Eldest Son. 8vo.

TOPOGRAPHY.

Syria, The Holy Land, Asia Minor, &c. Illustrated. Drawn from nature by W. H. Bartlett and Wm. Purser; with Descriptions of the Plates by John Carne, author of "*Letters from the East*." Containing 5 large and highly-finished Engravings. Part I. 4to.